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Public Services, Private Values

The Society of the Merchant Venturers of Bristol and the Changing World of Welfare Service Provision in England, 1975-2017

Public Services, Private Values: The Society of the Merchant Venturers of Bristol and the Changing World of Welfare Service Provision in England, 1975-2017

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Author's Declaration

I declare the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in this dissertation are those of the author.

Abstract

This dissertation analyses the historical intersection between welfare state retrenchment policies and philanthropy on a local scale between 1975 and 2017; an intersection that developed through successive cross-party government policies which curtailed the power and responsibilities of local authorities and sought to transfer the provision of state services to private-sector and philanthropic providers, themselves operating competitively to improve services and 'client' satisfaction. This dissertation uses a case study approach to examine this national trend on a local scale by tracing the transfer of private-sector values onto the provision of welfare services. It focuses on one philanthropic organisation, the elite Society of Merchant Venturers (SMV) and one local authority, Bristol. An organisation comprised of businesspeople, SMV was built on and operated with private-sector values, but it has also, through the determination of some of its members, become a significant philanthropic provider of welfare services in Bristol over the past forty years. It is this tension between private-sector practices, philanthropic purpose and the Society's role as provider of public services that this thesis uncovers, placing particular emphasis on the effect non-statutory providers had on the quality and nature of local welfare services, as well as within SMV itself. Part one concerns education, where SMV attempted to bring about a cultural shift in its pupils at its academies through the implementation of private-school practices with mixed results. Part two considers how its care homes modernised and professionalised their services as SMV sought to fill a vacuum in provision for elderly people created by welfare state retrenchment policies. In doing so, SMV risked focusing its attention on private-sector values rather than the philanthropic aspect of its work. Overall, this thesis uses the case study of SMV to argue that welfare state retrenchment was a far more localised process than has hitherto been acknowledged, more influenced by local factors and actors with their own complex agenda, values and institutional histories. This research also has wider implications beyond Bristol and SMV. Welfare state retrenchment of the provision of services affected the nature of state-maintained services across England, as well as the philanthropic sector as a whole.

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List of abbreviations

BCCS	Bristol Cathedral Choir School
CCF	Combined Cadet Force
CGS	Colston's Girls' School
CMA	Competition and Markets Authority
CQC	Care Quality Commission
CSCI	Commission for Social Care Inspection
CTC	City Technology Colleges
GDST	Girls' Day School Trust
IB	International Baccalaureate
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LEA	Local Education Authority
LMS	Local Management of Schools
NAA	National Association of Almshouses
NHI	National Health Insurance
NHS	National Health Service
PAI	Public Assistance Institutions
SEN	Special Educational Needs
SMV	Society of Merchant Venturers
WCS	Withywood Community School

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Introduction

Who, what and why?

In a wealthy neighbourhood in Bristol, a street of elegant Victorian mansions sits across from a sprawling public green space. One of these buildings is home to an exclusive organisation comprised mainly of local businessmen. The décor, elaborate table settings and presence of a butler serve as indicators of tradition and status for those that pass time there, members of the Society of Merchant Venturers of Bristol (SMV). Founded in 1552, SMV comprised a group of elite merchants in control of the shipping trade in Bristol's port until the nineteenth century.[1] SMV's history is similar to that of the Great Twelve London Livery companies – it originated in the middle ages, managed trusts and donations from the sixteenth century onwards and served as a social club for elite men who attended banquets at its Hall.[2]

SMV was an inward-looking organisation, existing as a gentlemen's social club which made grants to various local charities on an ad-hoc basis until the late twentieth century. At the end of the 1970s, the start of the period under examination in this dissertation, its members oversaw, (though did not manage) the Cote Charity care home, ran the endowment for the St Monica Trust and maintained three almshouses. SMV also managed two private secondary schools, (Colston's Boys' School and Colston's Girls' School) by 1975. Between 1975-2000 the traditionally-minded SMV was not actively engaged with large-scale philanthropic initiatives and it appeared somewhat peripheral to Bristol's civic life.

Less than twenty years later SMV had undergone a striking transformation. By 2017 it had opened its membership to men and women with both business and professional backgrounds. No longer passively carrying out charitable work inherited from earlier generations of members, it had become a proactive and innovative educational and care home provider for multiple institutions in and near Bristol. Following in the footsteps of some of the London Livery companies SMV sponsored two state-maintained secondary academies, a special school and six primary schools with more than 3,000 pupils between them.[3] On the care home side of its work SMV helped to support over 5,000 older people through its management of the reinvigorated Colston's

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[1] John Latimer, *The History of the Society of Merchant Venturers of the City of Bristol* (Bristol: JW Arrowsmith, 1903), pp. 37, 38; Patrick McGrath, *The Merchant Venturers of Bristol: a History of the Society of Merchant Venturers of the City of Bristol from its Origin to the Present Day* (Bristol: The Society of Merchant Venturers, 1975), p. 309.

[2] David Palfreyman, *London's Livery Companies: History, Law and Customs* (Buckinghamshire: Oracle, 2010), pp. 21, 33, 43, 100-101, 160, 375-276, 278-279, 341-342.

[3] Palfreyman, *London's Livery Companies*, p. 312; The Society of Merchant Venturers, 'Our Work in Education', < https://www.merchantventurers.com/what-we-do/education/> [accessed 27 May 2019]; The Mercers' Company, 'State Schools, Academies and Colleges', https://www.mercers.co.uk/state-schools-academies-colleges [accessed 3 June 2019; The Haberdashers' Company, 'Our Schools', https://haberdashers.co.uk/Our-Schools [accessed 3 June 2019]; The Skinners' Company, 'Our Family of Schools', https://www.skinners.org.uk/education/schools/ [accessed 3 June 2019.

Almshouse and the Cote Charity, as well as maintaining the multi-million-pound endowment for the St Monica Trust, another care home provider in the Bristol area.[4] Over the course of forty years SMV began to transition from an elite gentleman's club to a significant player in the city's public life.

Two interrelated movements led to a transformation in the Society's purpose and activities between 1975 and 2017. Internally, SMV's leadership and members, passionate about broadening its philanthropic engagement beyond its traditional obligations, revitalised its activities and membership. Yet wider social and political changes across Britain also made this transformation possible. Civil society – briefly overshadowed in the popular imagination by a universal welfare state in the 1950s – experienced a renewal in the 1980s.[5] From the 1980s through the 2010s successive governments of different political complexion pursued a policy of reducing the state's provision of welfare services and increasing the role of the philanthropic and private organisations in the delivery of state-maintained services. In short, the state continued to fund education and residential care for the elderly, but the schools and care homes themselves came to be run by private companies and philanthropic organisations, such as SMV, rather than statutory providers.

In this way the boundary between public and private spheres has become increasingly blurred over the past forty years which leaves historians questioning the interaction between state and private-sector values as increasing numbers of non-statutory providers shape the development of schools and care homes' ethos, as well as overseeing service delivery and its outcomes. Analysis of the role private-sector values played in the provision of public services and the extent to which they influenced state-maintained education and care for the elderly is best analysed, this thesis argues, through historical case studies. Indeed, the stark contrast in SMV's purpose and activities in 1975 as compared to 2017 demonstrates the need for a detailed analysis of the internal workings of a specific philanthropic organisation as well as the socio-political climate in which much of its development occurred over the intervening forty odd years.

How and why did this transformation occur, and how did it effect the provision of welfare services in modern England? This broad enquiry is distilled into four key research questions that are addressed throughout the course of this thesis. First, we must take a more detailed look at SMV, the organisation that transitioned from an inward-looking, closed society to a major

[4] The Society of Merchant Venturers, 'Care for Older People', < https://www.merchantventurers.com/what-we-do/care-for-older-people/> [accessed 27 May 2019].

[5] As Jose Harris argued, the term civil society is ambiguous and can have several different meanings, but in this dissertation the term is used to refer to voluntary organisations and private-sector companies or groups acting in a philanthropic capacity to deliver welfare services. Jose Harris, 'Introduction: Civil Society in British History: Paradigm of Peculiarity?' in Civil Society in British History: Ideas, Identities, Institutions ed by Jose Harris (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 5.

philanthropic provider of welfare services in Bristol. In what way was SMV's shift to engaging in large-scale philanthropic activities shaped by internal change? Who instigated it and why? To what extent were members of SMV influenced by government policymaking?

Second, occurring against a backdrop of the wider retrenchment of the provision of welfare services across England, this dissertation uses the local to interrogate the national context. What does the study tell historians about the shifting divide between public and private-sector values in welfare services, in Bristol as well as on a national scale?

Third, SMV sits at the intersection of the private sector and the voluntary sphere – similarities in values and structure can be found between private companies and SMV. Therefore, recent research into business history and corporate philanthropy is relevant to this analysis of SMV. It is pertinent to ask, can the activities and strategies embraced by SMV be described as 'philanthrocapitalist' or 'social entrepreneurial' in nature?

Fourth, SMV provided welfare services independently from the state under a system intended to improve the standards and quality of public care homes and schools. But these services continued to receive government funding and SMV was accountable to statutory oversight. How effective were these government-led programmes in achieving their goals – did the services managed by SMV improve, stagnate or deteriorate as they transitioned from the state to the 'private' sphere?

This analysis of SMV and its philanthropic involvement in Bristol begins in 1975, a few years before welfare state retrenchment policies enacted under the Thatcher government of the 1980s began to alter vastly the nature of Britain's public service delivery. Starting the historical enquiry in 1975 allows the historian to gain a sense of SMV's character and activities prior to examining the wider change in the philanthropic landscape across Britain and SMV's involvement therein. Indeed, a starting point of 1975 highlights the scale of change that occurred over the following forty-year period, in an organisation that had not substantially altered over the previous four centuries. It is this intertwined history of local and national transformation in the provision of welfare services that this thesis seeks to uncover.

In its entirety this dissertation examines the contemporary history of a large philanthropic organisation, encompassing its change of character and activity as well as placing these within a wider national context of welfare state retrenchment policies and increased philanthropic involvement in the public sphere. But that is not this thesis' only purpose. It specifically analyses SMV's influence on two state-maintained secondary schools as sponsor and governors, on the Cote Charity and Colston's Almshouse as their managing organisation and its role within the St Monica Trust. It is an in-depth analysis of the influence philanthropic organisations have on the

ethos of public services provided privately in lieu of the state in modern English society. It also contributes to the modern history of Bristol itself by exploring the philanthropic provision of secondary schools and care homes in the city's recent past – widening historical knowledge of the intersection between welfare state retrenchment, philanthropy, educational provision and the care of the elderly over the past forty years.

This thesis uses the analysis of SMV's provision of public services in Bristol to argue that the retrenchment of welfare state provision is a far more localised process than has been acknowledged. Enabled by national policy, local actors with their own complex histories, agendas and values influenced the provision of services in their cities and regions. Therefore, an in-depth examination of individual philanthropic providers and the influence they had on the delivery of public services is vital for understanding the complex nature of the blurred boundary between public and private spheres in contemporary England. Wide-ranging surveys of welfare state retrenchment policies do not uncover the details so important to discovering the impact national policies had 'on the ground' on a local level. However, in line with Giovanni Levi's argument in favour of a micro-historical approach, the findings from this local case study can inform historians about potential patterns or outcomes that may be occur not only in a local setting but across a nationwide context.[6] As a result, historians of modern Britain and the welfare state, philanthropists and social policy-makers considering the outcome of retrenchment policies and the shifting boundary between England's public and private sectors will benefit from the findings of this research.

Welfare state retrenchment

Welfare state retrenchment is at the heart of this dissertation and its meaning must be clarified before we can move on to in-depth analyses. Broadly understood, welfare state retrenchment policies encompass the retreat of the state from the provision of services through funding cuts or a reduction in government-run programmes, depending on the context. It is a complex term with a range of meanings; therefore, it is necessary to define 'retrenchment' in the context of this dissertation. Thatcherite policymaking sought to adjust the responsibilities of the welfare state and increase self-reliance and voluntary action, but not to enact a reversal of welfare services. As Paul Pierson argued, 'retrenchment is not simply the mirror image of welfare state expansion.'[7] Health, social care and educational programmes have become embedded into society

[6] Giovanni Levi, 'On Microhistory', in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* ed. by Peter Burke (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), pp. 97-98.
[7] Paul Pierson, *Dismantling the Welfare State? Reagan, Thatcher and the Politics of Retrenchment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 29.

and adjustments to welfare services shifted the boundary in service delivery from the public sphere, or government provision, to the philanthropic and private spheres.[8] In this dissertation I analyse qualitative outcomes that derived from government policymaking. Thus, the use of the term 'retrenchment' is used in accordance with Pierson's argument that, 'retrenchment should be seen as a process of shifting social provision…not just as a matter of budget cuts.'[9] Retrenchment, of course, also has a financial dimension, but changes to government spending and budget cuts are analysed as part of a wider enquiry, for their role in delivering a change in service provision.[10] For example, Chapter Four examines the academy policy's parameters of paying for schools that are run by independent companies and organisations. Chapter Five analyses the effect of government spending on social security in increasing the number of private-sector care homes in the 1990s. Likewise, the level of statutory funding provided for local authority residents in private and philanthropic care homes is analysed in relation to the growth of marketisation and private-sector practices among philanthropic providers. In cases where such budgets cuts are the focus of the analysis they will be referred to as an aspect of 'financial retrenchment'.

Historians including Pat Thane, Geoffrey Finlayson, Brian Simon and Rodney Lowe have conducted valuable research into the British welfare state, the development of education policy and concepts of aging in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century England.[11] However, the literature on welfare state retrenchment and philanthropy in education and residential care for the elderly did not significantly focus on the influence of specific actors and long-term outcomes that arose through the merging of public, private and philanthropic spheres. Nor has it appreciated local variance. This thesis contributes to the historical literature on this process already available by focusing on the intersection of philanthropy and the British welfare state from 1975 to 2017. It also serves as a form of public history as 'history with a public purpose', by demonstrating the way in which historical research can illuminate the results of policymaking 'on the ground', in government-funded services in Bristol and across England as a whole.[12] Alix Green wrote that '[h]istory shares with policymaking a fundamental concern with human action and agency in

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[8] Elinor Scarborough, 'West European Welfare States: The Old Politics of Retrenchment', *European Journal of Political Research* 31:1 (2000), p. 249; Nicholas Timmins, *The Five Giants: A Biography of the Welfare State* (London: HarperCollins, 2001), p. 502.

[9] Pierson, *Dismantling the Welfare State,* p. 15.

[10] Jonah D. Levy, 'Welfare Retrenchment', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*, ed. by Francis G. Castles, Stephen Leibfried, Jane Lewis, Herbert Obinger and Christopher Pierson, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 559-560.

[11] Pat Thane, *Old Age in English History: Past Experiences, Present Issues* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)*;* Geoffrey Finalyson, *Citizen, State, and Social Welfare in Britain 1830 -1990* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Brian Simon, *Education and the Social Order, 1940-1990* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991); Rodney Lowe, *The Welfare State in Britain since 1945* 3rd edn. (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

[12] Alix Green*, History, Policy and Public Purpose: Historians and Historical Thinking in Government* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), p. 6.

context(s)' – this thesis uses a historical perspective to examine the way in which members of SMV influenced policy outcomes in two state-maintained secondary schools and two care home charities.[13]

This dissertation sits at the intersection of three different, but interrelated areas of historical enquiry: the history of philanthropy, of residential care for the elderly and of secondary education. The connection between the three, as aspects of the welfare state and welfare state retrenchment, are examined below. The welfare state and the voluntary sector alike underwent significant changes between the 1940s and the 1980s and beyond. The development of both the welfare state and the voluntary sector are closely scrutinised in Chapter One. Therefore, this section analyses broader historical trends in welfare state retrenchment before the following sections address the history of the specific areas in which SMV became involved. The central government's curtailment of local authority provision in secondary education and residential care for the elderly relate to the history of modern philanthropy in England as private companies and voluntary organisations came to provide these services in lieu of the state, which had hitherto been the main welfare provider in Britain. The review of different aspects of this complex historiography offered below also underlines the need to conduct further historical research into the influence of philanthropic providers on education and care homes for the elderly, setting the stage for this thesis's evaluation of SMV's role in public service provision in twenty-first century Bristol.

Standards of living in England in 1975 (the start of the period under review) had drastically improved compared to the first half of the twentieth century. More people were living longer, educational opportunities had expanded for women and minority groups and new jobs were emerging in the service industry. At the same time, the old manufacturing and heavy industries ceased to provide the job stability they once had.[14] High inflation, a high interest rate and the growing number of unemployed persons from the mid-1970s all contributed to the Conservative government's radical approach to reforming costly welfare services in the 1980s.[15] Seeking to establish a less expensive, less-centralised and less state-centric welfare system while meeting the needs of a rapidly transforming society, the UK's Conservative government of the 1980s implemented a complex 'mixed economy' of welfare.[16] This approach involved curtailing local

[13] Green, *History, Policy and Public Purpose,* p. 45.
[14] Andrew Rosen, *The Transformation of British Life 1950-2000: A Social History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 7, 13, 54-55, 57, 62, 67, 82-85, 94; Angela Storey, *Living Longer: How our Population is Changing and why it Matters*, Office for National Statistics, 13 August 2018, pp. 2-3,13-14, 31.
[15] Richard Vinen, *Thatcher's Britain: The Politics and Social Upheaval of the Thatcher Era* (London: Simon and Schuster, 2009), pp. 193-196.
[16] Lowe, *The Welfare State in Britain since 1945*, pp. 17-19.

authority provision of education and residential care for the elderly in favour of private and philanthropic management of these services. Yet this strategy did not break completely with that of prior governments; it was radical for the scale of its ambition rather than in terms of the idea itself. For example, although James Callaghan's Labour government in the 1970s tried to improve socioeconomic conditions by expanding the welfare state, the economic crisis of 1976 reached a point at which the government was required to make cuts to planned expenditure in order to receive a £4,000,000 loan from the IMF.[17]

The Conservative government effectively continued and expanded this programme, although the radical nature of the Thatcher government's approach lay in its determination to rapidly and comprehensively transfer responsibility for welfare services from the state to the private and philanthropic sectors. As Dennis Kavanagh argued, the 1980s Conservative governments' policies represented a break with post-war consensus policies and Keynesian management of the economy.[18] It came to power in 1979 following the apparent failure of interventionist economic policy and the political tensions of the 1970s. By that time, the oil crisis, rising global prices, unemployment and soaring inflation had crippled the economy.[19] Rising inflation had been a concern since the 1960s and although successive governments had sought to curb it by limiting wage increases, trade union resistance to wage controls only added to the strain.[20] Over the winter of 1978-1979 (known as the Winter of Discontent) strikes broke out across the country as first private, and then public-sector employees refused to accept a five per cent cap on the growth of wages.[21] Significantly, the media and political narrative of out-of-control union activity engendered by the Winter of Discontent increased popular support for a Conservative government and the opportunity for it to introduce reforms.[22]

The economic challenges of high inflation and increasing unemployment contributed to the Conservative government's drive to introduce welfare state retrenchment policies.[23] This strategy stemmed from the fact that although the Government had increased its aggregate spending, particularly on unemployment benefit, rising demand at a time of high unemployment

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[17] The Cabinet Papers, *IMF Crisis*, 1976 < http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/cabinetpapers/themes/imf-crisis.htm?>; Peter Starke, *Radical Welfare State Retrenchment: A Comparative Analysis* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 178-9.
[18] Dennis Kavanagh, *The Reordering of British Politics: Politics After Thatcher* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 21, 24-26, 69-72, 76-77.
[19] Kent Matthews and Patrick Minford, 'British Inflation and Unemployment in the 1970s: A Model-based Decomposition', *Applied Economics,* 28:1 (1996), p. 104.
[20] Tara Martin Lopez, *The Winter of Discontent: Myth, Memory and History* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014), p. 28.
[21] Colin Hay, 'The Winter of Discontent Thirty Years On', *The Political Quarterly* 80:4 (2009), p. 546; Kavanagh, *The Reordering of British Politics,* p. 57.
[22] Hay, 'The Winter of Discontent Thirty Years On', p. 551.
[23] Pierson, *Dismantling the Welfare State?,* pp. 3-4.

meant resources were thinly stretched. An ageing population also contributed to rising costs for pensions and health and social services for older people.[24] Hand-in-hand with continued, and even increasing, welfare spending was the Conservative government's ideological position which envisioned individual initiative, self-help and voluntarism acting as alternative providers to the state.[25] While state spending would continue, the government believed voluntary and private-sector providers acting through a market or semi-market structure could act more effectively in the delivery of services than statutory providers. It therefore embarked upon a continuous programme of welfare state retrenchment (the transfer of the provision of services to private providers) from 1979-1997.

Political rhetoric shows that the Conservative government's pursuit of a thriving voluntary sector took shape in the early 1980s.[26] For instance, in a speech to the Conservative Party Conference in 1982 then Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher proclaimed:

> The well-being of our people is about far more than the welfare state. It is about self-reliance, family help, voluntary help as well as State provision. In a society which is truly healthy responsibility is shared and help is mutual.[27]

The party's belief in self-help and voluntary action was emphasised in the 1983 Conservative manifesto. It read, 'Conservatives reject Labour's contention that the State can and should do everything…we also welcome the vital contribution made by voluntary organisations in the social services.'[28] The 1987 manifesto contained a similar theme. On the topics of independence and the opportunity for people to make their own choice, it read:

> In this way the scope of individual responsibility is widened, the family is strengthened, and voluntary bodies flourish. State power is checked and opportunities are spread throughout society.[29]

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[24] Hugh Pemberton, Pat Thane and Noel Whiteside, 'Introduction', in *Britain's Pensions Crisis: History and Policy* ed by. Pemberton et al (Oxford: British Academy Press, 2006), p. 4; Peter Taylor-Gooby, 'Ideas and Policy Change' in *Ideas and Welfare State Reform in Western Europe* ed by Taylor-Gooby (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 2; Derek Fraser, *The Evolution of the British Welfare State*, 4th edn. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 293-294.
[25] Rodney Lowe, *The Welfare State in Britain since 1945*, 2nd edn (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), pp. 24, 26; Norman Johnson, *The Welfare State in Transition: The Theory and Practice of Welfare Pluralism* (Brighton: Wheatsheaf Books, 1987), p. 88; Daniel Stedman Jones, *Masters of the Universe: Hayek, Friedman, and the birth of Neoliberal Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), p. 216; Finalyson, *Citizen, State, and Social Welfare in Britain,* pp. 358-362.
[26] Kavanagh, *The Reordering of British Politics*, pp. 22-24, 41, 62, 64, 108-109, 126, 131.
[27] Margaret Thatcher Foundation, Margaret Thatcher, *Speech to Conservative Party Conference*, 8 October 1982, p. 32. <https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/105032> [accessed 5 December 2017]
[28] Conservative Manifesto.com, *1983 Conservative Party General Election Manifesto* < http://www.conservativemanifesto.com/1983/1983-conservative-manifesto.shtml> [accessed 27 may 2019]
[29] Conservative Manifesto.com, *1987 Conservative Party General Election Manifesto.* < http://www.conservativemanifesto.com/1987/1987-conservative-manifesto.shtml> (2001) [accessed 5 December 2017]

However, self-help and the role of voluntary groups alone were not seen as enough to improve public services. Market forces, such as competition, had their own role to play:

> Competition forces the economy to respond to the needs of the consumer. It promotes efficiency, holds down costs, drives companies to innovate and ensures that customers get the best possible value for money.[30]

The aims of the Conservative governments were clear. They pursued an agenda to devolve responsibility for welfare services to voluntary organisations or private companies, seeking to make them leading rather than supplementary providers of such services. But speeches and legislation did not provide details on how welfare retrenchment was to operate in practice or on a local level: that is why it is vital that historians of philanthropy and contemporary Britain examine the effect of these policies 'on the ground', exploring their effects on users and providers.

Thatcherite policymaking shaped the character of some highly visible and active philanthropic organisations. There was some irony in this situation as voluntary groups in the 1970s had been recognised for their independence from government, a trait which was believed to facilitate innovation with regards to service provision.[31] Yet elements of privatisation such as self-governance, efficiency, organisational skills and the ability to interact successfully with central government were applied to the voluntary groups that were dependent on the government for funding.[32] As philanthropic organisations competed for financial support from the government, they ultimately adopted the practices of private-sector companies. Indeed, competition, a characteristic associated with the private sector rather than the state (which in the post-war era sought to establish an equal and comprehensive welfare service) came to be intrinsic to the funding and allocation of contracts by the state to philanthropic organisations.[33]

Historians have examined the effect on philanthropic organisations of accepting statutory financial support. For instance, Frank Prochaska indicated that voluntary organisations initially funded by the government became increasingly dependent on financial support from the state to meet demand for their services.[34] N.J. Crowson argued that under these circumstances the government's pursuit of efficiency acted as a selection mechanism which focused support on well-run charitable providers that attracted sufficient numbers of users to be economically viable.[35]

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[30] Conservative Party, *1987 Conservative Party General Election Manifesto*.
[31] Maria Brenton, *The Voluntary Sector in British Social Services* (Harlow: Longman, 1985), pp. 8, 9, 24, 27, 70.
[32] Brenton, *The Voluntary Sector in British Social Services*, pp. 89, 109, 140.
[33] Rodney Lowe, 'Recent Findings of Research in Economic and Social History', *Refresh* 18:1 (1994), pp. 2-3.
[34] Frank Prochaska, *Philanthropy and the Hospitals of London: The King's Fund, 1897-1990* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 226.
[35] N. J. Crowson, 'Introduction: the voluntary sector in 1980s Britain', *Contemporary British History*, 25:1 (2011), p. 496.

Therefore, Crowson suggested, it was in the philanthropic organisations' interest to meet the government's criteria in order to retain funding. However, success in this area had its drawbacks.

For some voluntary organisations, reliance on grants from the state brought fear of entanglement in politics and concern that organisations would be distracted from their original goals.[36] Campaigning, lobbying or advocacy activities could be been reduced by voluntary groups due to self-censorship and political expediency, as a condition of a contract, or because staff needed to dedicate time to negotiating contracts.[37] Nicholas Deakin further argued that voluntary organisations' acquisition of government contracts meant that for the charities, their 'potential contribution was assessed on criteria that did not appear to correspond with their traditional values.' [38] On the other hand, Jennifer Crane argued, the development of professional practices and access to government funding helped some voluntary organisations expand their work, reaching more people in need of support.[39] Traditional grassroots charities had long been part of the fabric of social care provision in Britain, but the changing political circumstances of the 1980s led many to transform from amateur groups into highly capable, professionalised, in some cases business-like, organisations.[40] This transformation was driven by central government but designed to influence activity at local levels.

However, the goals pursued by central government did not necessarily extend to local authorities who were active in welfare service delivery and in fostering relationships with voluntary organisations. Jeremy Kendall and Martin Knapp stated that after 1975 and into the 1980s local authorities and voluntary organisations had become closely linked through planning and consultations for community projects.[41] Eventually, local government came to represent a threat to Conservative ideology. John Gyford stated:

> In effect the decade before 1983 saw the Conservative Party gradually moving away from its traditional posture as the defender of local government against centralization to a new posture as the defender of the ratepayer against local government.[42]

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36. Crowson, 'Introduction: the voluntary sector', pp. 494-495.
37 Jeremy Kendall and Martin Knapp, *The Voluntary Sector in the UK* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 233.
38 Nicholas Deakin, 'Civil Society', in *Companion to Contemporary Britain 1939-2000*, eds. Paul Addison and Harriet Jones (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), p. 414.
39 Jennifer Crane, 'Painful Times: The Emergence and Campaigning of Parents Against Injustice in 1980s Britain', *Twentieth Century British History*, 26:3 (2015), pp. 452, 455-456, 460-461.
40 Brenton, *The Voluntary Sector in British Social Services*, pp. 8-9; Deakin, 'Civil Society', p. 407.
41 Kendall and Knapp, *The Voluntary Sector in the UK*, pp. 152-154.
42 John Gyford, *The Politics of Local Socialism* (Hemel Hempstead: George Allen & Unwin, 1985), p. 70.

As public expenditure outstripped economic growth, the Conservatives came to insist public services be made accountable to the taxpayer.[43] Central government was loath to tolerate inefficiency and poor value for money amongst regional statutory bodies.

Paul Pierson and Geoffrey Finlayson have both demonstrated that the British government of the 1980s wielded influence and power yet, despite some politicians' determination, it did not achieve systematic welfare state retrenchment of the provision of services or reduce the cost of services to itself, through financial retrenchment. [44] However, neither of them focused on an in-depth examination of the role played by philanthropic organisations and their influence shaping services previously run by statutory providers. The state's increased reliance on the philanthropic sector to provide funds and services raised the profile of many voluntary organisations while encouraging the use of market mechanisms such as user-driven initiatives and competition in the non-statutory provision of welfare services.[45] Private organisations and businesses also became increasingly involved in the delivery of public services from the 1980s onwards, with social scientists and business specialists coining new terminology to reflect this engagement. Here, the term 'philanthrocapitalism' refers to the use of private-sector money to address social and economic conditions. A philanthrocapitalist organisation financially supports a service to the public but is not involved beyond that.[46] 'Social entrepreneurialism', on the other hand, is defined as a philanthropic or private organisation's non-monetary contribution to a public service. Social entrepreneurial organisations provide long-term support, knowledge and their time in day-to-day matters of service provision.[47]

As with the focus of case study research into the intersection between welfare state retrenchment and philanthropy, this thesis highlights the significance of philanthrocapitalist and social entrepreneurial initiatives in providing opportunities for SMV to become involved in the provision of public services. As will be demonstrated in Chapter Two, this shift began when SMV helped launch a major philanthrocapitalist initiative in 1987, the Greater Bristol Trust. This

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[43] Gyford, *The Politics of Local Socialism*, p. 71.
[44] Pierson, *Dismantling the Welfare State,* p. 131; Finlayson, *Citizen, State and Social Welfare in Britain*, pp. 362-368, 375-380, 389.
[45] Robert Saunders, "'Crisis? What Crisis?" Thatcherism and the Seventies' in *Making Thatcher's Britain* (eds) Ben Jackson and Robert Saunders (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) pp. 31, 40; Margaret Harris, Colin Rochester, and Peter Halfpenny, 'Twenty Years of Change' in *Voluntary Organisations and Social Policy in Britain; Perspectives on Change and Choice*, (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001), p. 3; Crowson, 'Introduction: the Voluntary Sector', pp. 491-498; Ralph M. Kramer, 'Change and Continuity in British Voluntary Organisations, 1976-1988', *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organisations* 1:2 (1990), p. 34.
[46] Matthew Bishop and Michael Green, 'Philanthrocapitalism Rising', *Sociology*, 52:6 (2015), p. 541.
[47] Gladius Kulothungan, 'What do we mean by "Social Enterprise"? Defining Social Entrepreneurship' in *Social Entrepreneurship: A Skills Approach* (eds) Robert Gunn and Chris Durkin (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2010) p. 23; James E. Austin, 'Three Avenues for Social Entrepreneurship Research' in *Social Entrepreneurship* (eds) Johanna Mair, Jeffrey Robinson and Kai Hockerts (Houndsmill Baskingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 22.

initiative relied on local charities, benefactors and businesses to donate funds which could be used to improve a variety of services in Bristol and the neighbouring areas.[48] Individual Merchants carried forward the initiative, demonstrating a noticeable, though limited interest amongst members of SMV in engaging with a large-scale philanthropic endeavour. Some of the Merchants continued to support the charity (renamed the Quartet Foundation in 2005) throughout the next thirty years. SMV was also involved in social entrepreneurialism. From 2000 onwards its members have supported and provided expertise to headteachers and governors at Merchants' Academy, overseen the conversion of Colston's Girls' School to academy status and instigated the rejuvenation of Cote Charity. Placing these locally-based endeavours into a historical context is vital to understanding the catalysts for SMV's involvement in these areas and the impact the Society's involvement had on the character of the services provided. In order to evaluate SMV's influence on state-maintained secondary education and residential care for the elderly, however, one must first establish the nature of such services under the auspices of the state, prior to and during the implementation of retrenchment policies.

Education policy and retrenchment, 1944-2017

The development of education policy from 1944 and the gradual emergence of the 'academy initiative' demonstrate the changing relationship between education policy, retrenchment and the state. Historians must examine the changing nature of England's secondary school system starting in 1944 as policies set seventy years ago still inform the present character of secondary education in England; particularly in relation to academies which are schools funded by the state but managed by private and philanthropic organisations. Furthermore, understanding the historical development of the academy programme and the role of private and philanthropic organisations within it lays the foundation for an in-depth analysis of SMV's social entrepreneurial engagement and private-sector influence within Merchants' Academy and Colston's Girls' School in Chapters Three and Four respectively.

The 1944 Education Act authorised secondary education for all pupils up to at least the age of fifteen.[49] Each child was to be educated in a system intended to deliver 'parity of esteem' between three different types of school with pupils sitting the eleven-plus examination to determine their perceived abilities and the corresponding suitable school. Those designated the most academically able were to attend a grammar school, those more suited to applied science or

[48] Quartet Community Foundation, Interim report on a research study to assess the feasibility of founding a Community Trust in Bristol, 20 October 1986, p. 2; QCF, *Greater Bristol Trust Annual Report 1987-1988*.
[49] Also known as the Butler Act. Margaret Jones and Rodney Lowe, *From Beveridge to Blair: The First Fifty Years of Britain's Welfare State 1948-98,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 113-114.

applied art were directed to a technical school and the rest, who seemingly best understood 'concrete things rather than ideas', went to secondary modern schools.[50] In practice, very few children attended technical schools and the system came to be dominated by the grammar and secondary modern schools.[51] The two types of school were not held in equal regard by employers, universities, parents and students themselves with the academic education and school leaving qualifications offered by grammar schools held in far higher esteem than those of the secondary moderns.[52]

By the 1960s criticism of selection at age eleven had become widespread and reformers were calling for an end to selection and the transition to a comprehensive system in which secondary schools would teach children with a range of abilities, together.[53] According to Michael Sanderson, comprehensive schools encouraged the mixing of abilities, social class and curriculum and had been idealised by supporters as a way to provide high-quality education to all pupils without the use of the eleven-plus examination.[54] Comprehensive schooling became popular with some parents, both Labour and Conservative politicians (though it was mostly supported by left-wing politicians) and a few large Local Education Authorities (LEAs), including Manchester, Bradford, Leeds and also Bristol during the 1960s and 1970s.[55] However, support for comprehensive reorganisation of England's schools was not unanimous and it never became a mandatory policy.

Both Labour and Conservative governments in the 1960s and 1970s attempted to influence, rather than force, LEA decision-making on comprehensive schools. Requests were issued according to the incumbent government's ideology. Circular 10/65, a product of the Labour government under Harold Wilson in 1965, called for LEAs to plan for comprehensive reorganisation of their secondary schools. Just five years later, under Edward Heath's Conservative government, Circular 10/70 reversed Circular 10/65 and encouraged LEAs to operate the system

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[50] Ken Jones, *Education in Britain 1944 to Present* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press in association with Blackwell Pub., 2003), pp. 22, 25, 47.
[51] Alan C. Kerckhoff, *Going Comprehensive in England and Wales* (London: Woburn Press, 1996) pp. 20-21.
[52] Students at secondary modern schools were not able to sit for external examinations until 1951 and afterwards often took the lower level CSE, rather than GCE expected for grammar school pupils. Many left school without any qualifications. Ken Jones, *Education in Britain 1994 to the Present*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016), pp. 28, 47, 52, 60; Harry Judge, *A Generation of Schooling: English Secondary Schools since 1944* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 22, 41, 48, 105-106, 108.
[53] Michael Sanderson, *Educational Opportunity and Social Change in England* (London: Faber and Faber, 1987), p. 61; Maurice Kogan, Edward Boyle, and Anthony Crosland, *The Politics of Education*: *In conversation with Maurice Kogan* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971), p. 191; Stephen J. Ball, *The Education Debate* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2013), pp. 23, 27-28; Sally Tomlinson, *Education in a Post-Welfare Society*, 3, 21- 23; Simon, *Education and the Social Order*, pp. 271-274, 287; Kerckhoff, *Going Comprehensive in England and Wales*, pp. 20-21; Jones, *Education in Britain*, p. 77.
[54] Sanderson, *Educational Opportunity and Social Change in England*, p. 61.
[55] 'Why Two Cities are Torn by Education Rows', *Observer*, 18 October 1964, p. 6; 'We'll Scrap Labour Schools Plan', *Daily Mail*, 26 November 1965, p. 9; Kogan et al, *The Politics of Education*, p. 191; Simon, *Education and the Social Order,* pp. 271-274, 287; Kerckhoff, *Going Comprehensive*, pp. 23, 27-28; Jones, *Education in Britain*, p. 77; Tomlinson, *Education in a Post-Welfare Society*, pp. 3, 21- 23.

they felt was most suitable to the needs of their respective areas.[56] Six years after that, the 1976 Education Act (produced under a Labour government led by James Callaghan) called for the end of selection, although again, there was no legal requirement to do so. The Act was later repealed under the Conservative government in 1979.[57] Though neither Conservative nor Labour governments required selective or comprehensive schooling to take precedence over the other, their respective interest was indicative of central government's desire to wield influence in LEA affairs, before it began doing so from the 1980s onwards.

This desire extended beyond the type of schools managed by LEAs to include what occurred within them. Political and public debate over progressive, comprehensive and traditional teaching methods ultimately led to central government taking control of what had been LEA responsibilities in curriculum and place allocation prior to the 1980s. Political conflict had been sparked by the 1967 Plowden Report which considered itself 'a report of progress and a spur to more' in schools.[58] Among its recommendations was the end of streaming. It advocated instead for concentrating attention on the individual child, particularly in primary school. The writers of the report believed that focusing on each individual would help every child to learn at their own pace amongst pupils with differing needs. They also emphasised personal exploration and 'finding out' rather than 'being told.'[59] The move away from traditional pedagogy led Conservative politicians and commentators to dismiss or even lambast the Plowden Report in their own publications, many printed in the 'Black Papers'. Debuting in 1969, the Black Papers featured contributors such as politician Rhodes Boyson and academic A.E. Dyson who supported streaming as they believed modern teaching methods had resulted in a decline in literacy, numeracy and good behaviour.[60] The trialling of alternative pedagogical methods from what had been available in grammar and secondary modern schools and the subsequent acrimonious debate over their suitability continued into the 1970s, reaching its zenith in 1975 with the William Tyndale Affair, discussed in detail in Chapter Three.[61]

In the 1980s the Conservative government sought to greatly reduce (particularly left-wing) local authority influence on education. It trialled the appointment of non-statutory organisations

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[56] Clyde Chitty, *Education Policy in Britain*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 29; Derek Gillard, *Education in England: The History of our Schools*, 'Recession and Disenchantment', 2011 <http://www.educationengland.org.uk/history/chapter07.html>.
[57] Kerckhoff, *Going Comprehensive*, p. 39.
[58] Derek Gillard, Education in England: The History of our Schools, *Plowden Report*, Volume 1, 1967, p. 461. <http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/plowden/plowden1967-1.html>
[59] Education in England, *Plowden Report*, p. 460.
[60] *The Black Papers on Education,* ed by Cox, Brian, and A. E Dyson (London: Davis-Poynter Ltd, 1971), pp. 9, 26-29.
[61] John Davis, 'The Inner London Education Authority and the Willian Tyndale Junior School Affair', *Oxford Review of Education* 28:2-3 (2002) pp. 275-276; Ian Kendall and David Holloway, 'Educational Policy' in *Public Policy Under Blair* ed. by Stephen P. Savage and Rob Atkinson (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001) p. 156.

as providers of state-maintained secondary schools through the 1985 City Technology Colleges (CTCs) initiative. A precursor to the academies policy, fifteen new specialised secondary schools were sponsored and managed by private businesses and organisations, receiving their funding directly from the central government.[62] This was not the only area in which the central government sought to interfere and its pursuit of power over local authorities led, at times, to *more* rather than *less* involvement in a public service. For example, the 1988 implementation of the national curriculum contravened the idea of 'rolling back the frontiers of the state' as the central government laid out the teaching agenda of every state-maintained school in England.[63]

Schools continued to face scrutiny in the early 1990s. The Conservative government under the leadership of John Major introduced the Citizen's Charter in 1992, an initiative intended to raise the standards of public service delivery.[64] In relation to education, schools' exam results began to be published in league tables starting that year.[65] The league tables allowed parents to access performance information about the schools they considered selecting for their children, though the aim was to incentivise schools to improve, not, as in the 1980s, to substantially diminish the role of LEAs.[66] Conversely, welfare state retrenchment policies under New Labour after 1997 recalled these earlier Conservative approaches to education, aiming to transfer the provision of services away from LEAs to independent organisations.[67]

New Labour's 1997 election victory hailed the continuation and expansion, rather than the truncation, of welfare state (non-financial) retrenchment policies in secondary education. Underlining the cross-party policy consensus on increasing the role of the private and philanthropic sectors in public service delivery was the introduction of the academies initiative in 2000. Incorporating elements of CTCs, the academies were publicly funded but independently sponsored by private and philanthropic organisations. Transferring management responsibilities of state-maintained schools from LEAs to sponsors such as businesses, faith groups, entrepreneurs and charitable organisations (including SMV) was a strategy intended to improve what the New Labour government regarded as poorly-performing LEA secondary schools (often

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[62] Sharon Gerwitz, Geoff Whitty and Tony Edwards, 'City Technology Colleges: Schooling for the Thatcher Generation?', *British Journal of Educational Studies* 40:3 (1992) pp. 207, 209; Geoffrey Walford, 'From City Technology Colleges to Sponsored Grant-Maintained Schools'*, Oxford Review of Education* 26:2 (2000) p. 146; Simon, *Education and the Social Order,* p. 531.
[63] HMSO, *Education Reform Act,* 1988, p. 2.
[64] Simon Burgess, Deborah Wilson and Jack Worth, 'A Natural Experiment in School Accountability: The Impact of School Performance Information on Pupil Progress', *Journal of Public Economics* 106:1 (2013) pp. 57-58; Politics.co.uk, 'Ofsted', (2018) http://www.politics.co.uk/reference/ofsted [accessed 2 March 2018]
[65] Timmins, *The Five Giants,* pp. 478, 480, 519.
[66] Simon Burgess etal, 'A Natural Experiment in School Accountability', pp. 57-58.
[67] HMSO, *Education Act,* 1980; Kendall and Holloway, 'Educational Policy', pp. 157-158; Stephen Ward and Christine Eden, *Key Issues in Education Policy,* (London: SAGE, 2009), pp. 20-21.

comprehensive) in low-income neighbourhoods.[68] Over a fifteen-year period, academies became an integral part of secondary school provision, widely establishing the presence of private-sector values in state-maintained education: by 2015 more than 4,500 academies were in operation.[69]

Between 2010-2015 the Coalition government (formed of politicians from the Conservative and Liberal Democrat parties) carried on the welfare state retrenchment (of statutory provision) policies of previous governments, while instigating its own programmes, one of which was the Big Society. The Coalition envisioned the Big Society as a return to local government and community initiatives, a change from the centralising movement under Thatcher. The diverse and innovative ideas of philanthropists and social entrepreneurs were to expand community action and replace, the then Prime Minister David Cameron stated in a 2010 speech, 'the centralised bureaucracy that wastes money and undermines morale.'[70] The 2011 Localism Act followed, which underlined the government's intention to devolve power from Westminster.[71] In practice, this policy allowed for the creation of Free Schools, a form of academy independent from LEA control.[72] The Coalition anticipated these schools to be a product of community desire and determination, though they still required approval from central government.

Policymaking in education is one aspect of the examination of welfare state retrenchment. The way in which these policies operated 'on the ground' and its perceived and actual effects must also undergo analysis. The Big Society was facilitated through political infrastructure such as The Office of the Third Sector, which brought together policymaking for voluntary and community sectors.[73] SMV was well placed to act in the moment of the Big Society as one of its primary goals was, and remains, to operate solely within the Bristol area and for the benefit of the residents of the city.[74] Established SMV initiatives in education reflected aspects of the Coalition's desire for community job training schemes and educational improvements. Overall, the Big Society initiative was not successful in filling the gap in provision but it illustrated the government's continued

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[68] HMSO, *Learning and Skills Act*, 2000.
[69] Laura Fenwick-Sehl, 'Lessons from Elsewhere? The Evolution of the Labour Academy School Concept, 1997-2010', *Research in Comparative and International Education* 8:2 (2013) p. 180; David Blunkett, *Speech to Social Market Foundation*, 15 March 2000, quoted in Department for Education and Employment, *City Academies: Schools to Make a Difference: A Prospectus for Sponsors and Other Partners*, pp. 4,8. < http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/3000/1/City_academies_-_schools_to_make_a_difference_(July_2000).pdf>; UK Parliament, 'Academies and Free Schools: Key Issues for the 2015 Parliament', 2015 <https://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/research/key-issues-parliament-2015/education/academies-and-free-schools/>
[70] Cabinet Office, Prime Minister's Office, 10 Downing Street and The Rt Hon David Cameron MP, *Big Society Speech,* (2010) < https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/big-Society-speech>
[71] HMSO, *Localism Act 2011* <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2011/20/pdfs/ukpga_20110020_en.pdf>
[72] Nick Clarke and Allan Cochrane, 'Geographies and Politics of Localism: The Localism of the United Kingdom's Coalition Government', *Political Geography* 34:1 (2013) p. 12.
[73] Peter Alcock, *Partnership and Mainstreaming: Voluntary Action Under New Labour* (Third Sector Research Centre Working Paper 32, 2010), p. 8.
[74] Merchants' Hall, *Standing Committee*, BoP 37, p. 316.

reliance on philanthropic individuals and organisations to meet social needs in modern Britain.[75] As discussed and will be demonstrated in later chapters of this thesis, the Big Society did not pioneer this approach: the 1980s Conservative government introduced private-sector values into welfare services not just in education but in residential care for the elderly. Therefore, throughout forty years of successive governments' retrenchment of the provision of welfare services, the scope for voluntary action rose with philanthropic organisations such as SMV becoming major players in the delivery of state-maintained secondary education and residential care for the elderly. As with education, in the examination of care homes we find a shift in the boundary between the state and civil society across the forty-year period with many policies developing during and after the 1980s.

Residential care for the elderly: policy and retrenchment, 1948-2017

An historical overview of the second major area of SMV involvement, residential services available to the elderly, lays the foundation for examining change in English care home provision over time, from the introduction of the welfare state to the rise of philanthrocapitalism and social entrepreneurialism. Care home provision has become more than a public service, it is also a business. By 2017 it was an industry worth nearly £16 billion a year.[76] Private and philanthropic provision of care homes for the elderly have become an integral and lucrative aspect of modern welfare services but have so far received rather more attention from social scientists than historians. This thesis seeks to increase our historical knowledge on the development of welfare services in the immediate post-war era and the retrenchment of their delivery starting in the 1980s.

Philanthropic provision of care homes existed over the course of the twentieth century, though this section has a particular emphasis on the years after the 1948 National Assistance Act and following the implementation of welfare state retrenchment policies in the 1980s. Care home provision in the early twentieth century was still largely Victorian in nature: government social welfare policy from the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act era to the 1929 Local Government Act was rooted in the workhouse, a sheltering scheme intended to discourage the poor from relying on the state for financial and material support.[77] They acted as a last, and rather unpleasant, resort.

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[75] Andrew Wallace, 'New Labour, the Coalition Government and Disciplined Communities', in eds Malcolm Harrison and Teela Sanders, *Social Policies and Social Control: New Perspectives on the 'not-so-big Society* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2014), <DOI: 10.1332/policypress/9781447310747.001.0001> [accessed 15 April 2019], pp. 97-98; Teela Sanders, 'Thirteen Concluding Thoughts: The Consequences of a "Not-so-big Society", Harrison and Sanders, *Social Policies and Social Control*, pp. 209-210; Michael Savage, 'Big Society Dismissed as Enormous Failure', *The Times*, 20 January 2015, p. 13.

[76] This figure encompasses the whole of the UK. Competition and Markets Authority, *Care Homes Market Study*: *Summary of Final Report* (2017) https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/care-homes-market-study-summary-of-final-report/care-homes-market-study-summary-of-final-report

[77] M.A. Crowther, *The Workhouse System 1834-1929: The History of an English Social Institution* (London: Batsford Academic and Educational Ltd, 1981), p. 58.

As a result, many of their residents were among the neediest, including many infirm and elderly persons. The historian M.A. Crowther described workhouses as large, intimidating, unappealing and prison-like.[78] These negative characteristics persisted throughout the 1930s and even after the introduction of the welfare state and passage of the 1948 National Assistance Act. The weak post-war economy and governments prioritising other aspects of social care contributed to the continued use of workhouse buildings and, by extension, inadequate care homes for elderly Britons well into the 1970s. Former workhouses that had been rebranded Public Assistance Institutions (PAIs) through the passage of the 1929 Local Government Act were often classified by later sociologists as 'institutions', a term that often denoted a controlled way life for residents housed in care facilities.[79] The sociologist Erving Goffman, for example, defined a 'total institution' as 'a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life.'[80] Goffman's 1960s research focused on a public psychiatric hospital in the United States, though his observations were applicable to residential care of the elderly in the United Kingdom, and were popular among researchers and reformers. For in the same decade in England, the sociologist Peter Townsend recounted his impressions of the state's lack of progress in the improvement of care homes for the elderly.[81] A range of concerns about the care system established in old asylums extended to care homes: crumbling infrastructure unsuitable for purpose, rising costs and a lack of individual freedom.[82] His 1962 book *The Last Refuge* offered a sobering glimpse into life at thirty-nine state-run former workhouses and PAIs. Townsend's exposure of dilapidated, unfit buildings and dubious quality of care found in some homes was printed at a time when reformers were calling for the de-institutionalisation of mental hospitals

[78] Workhouses became known as PAIs following the implementation of the 1929 Local Government Act. Crowther, *The Workhouse System,* pp. 58, 73, 88, 96, 138, 226, 234-235; M.A. Crowther, 'From Workhouse to NHS Hospital in Britain 1929-1948', in eds. C. Hillam and J.M. Bon, *The Poor Law and After: Workhouse Hospitals and Public Welfare* (Liverpool: Liverpool Medical History Society, 1999) p. 39; David Thomson, 'Workhouse to Nursing Home: Residential Care of Elderly People in England since 1840', *Ageing and Society* 3:1 (1983), p. 45. Many older and ill people lived in poverty and destitution rather than submit themselves to the feared and stigmatised Poor Law institutions; Thane, *Old Age in English History: Past Experiences, Present Issues,* pp. 315, 355-356, 358, 360.

[79] *Local Government Act 1929*, Part I, <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1929/17/pdfs/ukpga_19290017_en.pdf>

[80] Erving Goffman, *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates* (New York: Anchor Books, 1961), p. xiv.

[81] Peter Townsend, *The Last Refuge* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1962), pp. 4-5,10, 13, 65-70, 90, 114-116, 182-183; Crowther, *The Workhouse System*, pp. 40-41.

[82] Enoch Powell, 'Water Towers' Speech, 1961 < http://studymore.org.uk/xpowell.htm>; Trevor Turner, 'The History of Deinstitutionalization and Reinstitutionalization', *Psychiatry* 3:9 (2004), pp. 1-2; Nick Crossley, 'R.D. Laing and the British Anti-psychiatry Movement: A Socio-historical analysis', *Social Science and Medicine* 47:7 (1998) pp. 877-889; Barbara Taylor, 'The Demise of the Asylum in Late Twentieth-Century Britain: A Personal History, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6:21 (2011) p. 198; The King's Fund, 'Case Study 1: Deinstitutionalisation in UK Mental Health Services' < https://www.kingsfund.org.uk/publications/making-change-possible/mental-health-services> (2018).

like those studied by Goffman. Strikingly, Townsend's controversial study occurred more than a decade after the 1948 National Assistance Act had sanctioned government building of specialised and subsidised accommodation for elderly persons. Why were the promised care homes not built?

Essentially, successive governments had not been able to translate written policy into tenable action. In the post-Second World War economy, constraints on funding and building materials meant many elderly people dependent on their local authorities continued to live in old workhouses.[83] The policy studies specialist Randall Smith and the social care specialist Robin Means argued that lack of capital and material resources in mid-twentieth century England led the government to prioritise building projects that favoured the young and economically active. Older people did not, of course, satisfy these parameters.[84] Social gerontologist Chris Phillipson articulated a similar argument, finding that building materials and funds were directed towards young people who could work and rear children. They, rather than the elderly who consumed but not produced goods, would revitalise the country and were thus the priority.[85] It was not only economists who considered the family unit of vital importance in the immediate post-war years. The historians Laura King and Mathew Thomson's work on fatherhood and childhood respectively, supported the idea that the young family was an important part of everyday life, as well as political and academic discourse, in the United Kingdom after 1945.[86] As the government directed funds towards the construction of family homes and communities, social studies, psychology and popular culture embraced the idea of family domesticity.

Due to policy directives that focused on young families, many elderly people resided in outdated public and private accommodation through the 1990s. Sociological studies and investigations undertaken by charities offered useful insight into the living circumstances of some elderly people throughout the period under review. The sociologist Hugh Mellor and Randall Smith contributed pieces to the 1973 National Corporation for the Care Of Old People publication, *Housing in Retirement,* which described the circumstances of elderly people living in

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[83] HMSO, *National Assistance Act*, 1948, pp. 1, 26-27; David Thomson, 'Workhouse to Nursing Home: Residential Care of Elderly People in England since 1840', *Ageing and Society* 3:1 (1983) p. 44; Christina R. Victor, *Old Age in Modern Society: A Textbook of Social Gerontology* (Beckenham Kent: Croom Helm Ltd, 1987), pp. 138, 140, 242, 275-276.

[84] Robin Means and Randall Smith, *The Development of Welfare Services for Elderly People* (Beckenham, Kent: Croom Helm Ltd, 1985), p. 364.

[85] Chris Phillipson, *Capitalism and the Construction of Old Age* (London: Macmillan, 1982), pp. 7, 11, 17, 77-79, 82, 99, 101-102; Means and Smith, *The Development of Welfare Services for Elderly People,* p. 177.

[86] Laura King, 'Hidden Fathers? The Significance of Fatherhood in Mid-Twentieth-Century Britain', *Contemporary British History* 26:1 (2012), pp. 27-29, 33-34, 36; Matthew Thomson, *Lost Freedom: The Landscape of the Child and the British Post-War Settlement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 3, 6-7, 13.

either privately rented or council housing unsuitable for the needs of the aged.[87] Their research found that local authorities typically placed elderly persons needing housing in one bedroom apartments or bedsits, often located at the top of staircases and distant from shops and amenities.[88] Age Concern illustrated the difficulties that could derive from these and other circumstances in their 1973 booklet *On Accommodation: Views on the Problems of Housing, with Personal Comments by the Elderly*. One case involved a man who, having been re-housed in poorly insulated and draughty council accommodation, found his only alternative was to relocate to a bedsit set atop four flights of stairs.[89] Another example was of a woman living in a privately-rented home without an indoor lavatory. In addition to lacking this modern amenity, she was restricted to the ground floor of her house as she could no longer climb the staircase.[90] People enduring such challenges were unable to obtain suitable housing as the infrastructure did not exist. Age Concern discovered that in the early 1970s 'half the authorities possessed not more than 19 per cent specially designed dwellings out of the housing provided for elderly people.[91]

Both the charities and Townsend intended their work to inform readers, but also shock them as to the state of residential care of the elderly in post-war England. Therefore, *The Last Refuge* cannot be taken as representative of every care home in England in the 1960s. Likewise, the examples used by the charities were not necessarily representative of the elderly population within their communities. This is not to say that elderly people did not face hardships in both institutional and traditional domestic dwellings, but that such examples highlight the worst of provision. As living standards improved, consumer expectations rose and the welfare state retreated, a new system for residential care of the elderly, with the continuing challenge of providing adequate provision, emerged.

As discussed, the 1980s Conservative government introduced market forces in the provision of public services, which subsequently extended to the existing private and voluntary homes. This structure, which also incorporated new voluntary and private-sector organisations, remained in place in 2017. Although it managed to shift responsibility for provision of care homes services from itself to private and philanthropic providers over the past forty years, the government was unable to achieve retrenchment for the delivery of services entirely. Neither was financial retrenchment attainable. Meeting the costs of care for elderly persons unable to cover the

[87] Hugh W. Mellor, 'Special Housing for the Elderly', *Housing in Retirement: Some Pointers for Social Policy* (London: Bedford Square Press, 1973) p. 19; Randall Smith, 'New Towns and Old People', *Housing in Retirement: Some Pointers for Social Policy* (London: Bedford Square Press, 1973) p. 30.
[88] Mellor, 'Special Housing for the Elderly', pp. 16, 20.
[89] Age Concern, *On Accommodation: Views on the Problems of Housing, with Personal Comments by the Elderly* (London: National Old People's Welfare Council, 1973), p. 31.
[90] Age Concern, *On Accommodation*, p. 29.
[91] Age Concern, *On Accommodation*, p. 19.

fees themselves largely remained the responsibility of the government throughout the 1980s and 1990s and it was unsuccessful in reducing its expenditure. However, by the twenty-first century, cross-subsidisation of fees from self-funding residents to local authority residents offered a way in which private companies and philanthropic organisations could try to meet a shortfall in funding.

In the 1980s, in an effort to drive a policy of retrenchment of provision forward, the Conservative government ended up allocating billions of pounds to private and voluntary care home providers.[92] Consequently, welfare state retrenchment policies paradoxically led to the expansion of newly-built accommodation for state-funded, elderly care-home residents. This situation developed out of the government's attempt to increase private-sector provision, by funnelling social security payments to state-funded people who were then eligible to live in private and philanthropic-sector care homes.[93] Increasing demand from higher numbers of ageing people, including those who had access to social security payments facilitated the expansion and improvement of non-statutory care homes as providers sought to attract the growing number of government-funded residents. Faced with competition from other providers and trying to appeal to residents who had grown up in an era of prosperity led the operators of private and philanthropic care-homes to professionalise and modernise their accommodation and services.[94]

The government's policy of channelling social security funds to residents in non-statutory care homes ended in 1990, but the policy had a lasting impact on the composition of the care-home sector – it had become dominated by private providers. Their prevalence over local-authority providers was further assured in the 1990 NHS and Community Care Act which redefined the role of the local authorities in relation to residential care for the elderly. Under the terms of the Act local authorities did not expand their provision of services, but selected providers on behalf of residents through a 'quasi-market' of public and private services. This policy remained in effect in 2017. As a result, SMV was one of many providers stepping in to fill the gap created by the withdrawal of the state from care home provision. Councils paid a certain amount in residents' fees to voluntary providers like the Cote Charity and the St Monica Trust, though often they were not enough to cover the actual cost of services.[95] Consequently, these providers looked to privately-funded residents, who could afford higher costs, to cross-subsidise those from the local authority. Alternatively, providers used their own charitable resources to cover outstanding

[92] Kramer, 'Change and Continuity in British Voluntary Organisations', pp. 34 -35.
[93] Victor, *Old Age in Modern Society*, pp. 146, 155, 277, 293.
[94] Rosen, *The Transformation of British Life,* p. 13.
[95] Age UK, *Behind the Headlines: 'Stuck in the Middle'- Self-funders in Care Homes*, September 2016, p. 2; Paying for Care, 'How much does care cost?' (2017/2018) < https://www.payingforcare.org/how-much-does-care-cost/>; Richard Humphries et al, The King's Fund/Nuffield Trust, *Social Care for Older People: Home Truths*, September 2016, pp. 33-34.

costs. These concepts and the resulting tension providers faced between catering to private residents and providing care to local authority-funded persons form the basis of Chapter Five, an analysis of SMV's Cote Charity and the Society's role as endowment trustee for the St Monica Trust.

Government policymaking and the influence of philanthropic and private provision on welfare services have shaped England's modern care-home sector. Facilities and their management have modernised, professionalised and been commodified. Modernisation and professionalisation began in the 1980s as private-sector providers competed to attract residents funded by social security payments. Upgrading of buildings, care plans and policies continued as the state instituted regulatory oversight, inspections and public access to their findings. Commodification began in the 1990s following the introduction of the 'quasi-market' and the incentive to attract affluent self-funding residents. Aiming to appeal to independently-funded residents, private and philanthropic care homes began to market themselves as high-end retirement centres, straddling the boundary between a charitable service and private business. Philanthropic providers, including (to a certain extent) SMV and St Monica, have far surpassed regulatory standards for service, even producing glittering marketing campaigns in their quest for privately-funded residents.[96] Although the 1980s Conservative government set welfare state retrenchment policies in residential care for the elderly in motion, the policy was continued under successive Conservative and Labour governments in the 1990s and 2000s, extending to the Coalition government after 2010. But how should historians approach this complex history and what evidence can they use?

Methodology and sources

Research for this thesis was conducted using a range of historical, political and sociological primary and secondary sources and methodologies, including public and private archival documents, government legislation, performance data and speeches. Using these sources, this thesis engages with the social and political history of the welfare state and retrenchment policies on the ground, in a local setting. Specifically, local actors, conditions and histories are examined through institutional and oral history methods. Both benefits and challenges arise from using these methods.

The information gleaned from archival documents, government legislation, inspections and reports were supplemented by oral histories. Each of the twenty-eight participants (nine of

[96] Private and philanthropic organisations operating large facilities, often with high-end amenities are typically referred to as retirement communities or villages, though definitions vary as to the nature and offerings of these communities. Anne P. Glass and Jane Skinner, 'Retirement Communities: We Know What They Are…Or Do We?', *Journal of Housing for the Elderly* 27:1-2 (2013) pp. 68, 69; Stephen Golant, 'Deciding Where to Live: The Emerging Residential Settlement Patterns of Retired Americans', *Generations* 26:2 (2002) pp. 67, 69-70.

whom wished to remain anonymous) were provided with information on the project and asked to sign a recording agreement at the time of the interview. Ranging in length from thirty to ninety minutes, the interviews were transcribed within several days of their recording.[97] On two separate occasions I interviewed two people at one time. The remaining twenty-six interviews were one-on-one and mostly took place at Merchants' Hall, though a few were held at the interviewee's home or office.

The perhaps uncomfortable fact that SMV funded this research must also be addressed. Grace Huxford and Richard Wallace have noted the importance of taking into account a commissioning organisation's potential to influence a research project for which it is the central subject.[98] In their experience, they found some participants wary of taking part, fearing that only celebratory and positive memories would be produced. Carl Ryant raised a similar concern, emphasising that researchers must make clear the extent to which their research was influenced by its sponsors.[99] That said, I completed this research project independent from interference, as SMV was keen for me to do. Whilst SMV funded this research the University of Bristol constructed a buffer zone between myself and SMV as my contract and funding were held with the university rather than SMV. Throughout, I selected the people I wanted to interview (though Merchants did suggest names) wrote the questions and transcribed and analysed the interviews independently.

SMV's sponsorship provided me with unparalleled access to official records and personal recollections, offering a unique opportunity to examine the values and operations of a local provider of welfare services 'on the ground'. As yet I am the only historian to use SMV's private resources to analyse its changing ethos from gentlemen's club to social entrepreneurial organisation between 1975 and 2017. Furthermore, examination of one philanthropic organisation in the sizeable city of Bristol underlines the importance of evaluation on a local level. Rather than generalising about SMV's role within national policy as an academy sponsor and care home provider, I use oral history and two related methodological approaches (institutional and contemporary history) to draw out conclusions on the actual interaction between private-sector values and public services in the city. Crucially, these findings and methodology, though based on

[97] A note on transcriptions of recording. I generally eliminated 'ums' and places where interviewees stumbled over their words in the final transcript, for clarity. The use of '…'signifies not a pause, but the movement from one part of the discussion to another. A full stop included '[.]…' signifies the end of a sentence and then movement to another statement, not directly following the previous one. I indicate where an interviewee has paused by inserting *paused* into the text.

[98] Grace Huxford and Richard Wallace, 'Voice of the University: Anniversary Culture and Oral Histories of Higher Education', *Oral History*, 45:1 (2017), pp. 84-85. See also Laura Schwartz*, A Serious Endeavour: Gender, Education and Community at St Hugh's, 1886-2011,* (London: Profile Books Ltd, 2011) for a discussion overcoming a biased viewpoint as an 'insider' hired to write an institutional history.

[99] Carl Ryant, 'Oral History and Business History', *The Journal of American History,*75:2 (1988), pp. 562-563.

SMV, may also be applicable to wider national trends in welfare state retrenchment policy, extending the significance of this research beyond Bristol to the whole of England.

At the heart of the study is the archive of SMV. Analysis of its written documents was one research method used to explore the way in which SMV's character and philanthropic engagement evolved over time. It was necessary to evaluate the notes, meeting minutes, official SMV correspondence and records – stored in SMV's own archive at Merchants' Hall – carefully. Particularly significant resources used in this research were the minute books that detail the operations of the Standing Committee, the effective board of governors for SMV. SMV's activities and priorities were tracked in the Standing Committee records of monthly or bi-monthly meetings, which were logged by topic of discussion. Updates on SMV's philanthropic work were recorded alongside mentions of the wine committee's procurements and Hall maintenance. Initiatives to which the Standing Committee paid special attention were allocated a Sub-Committee, typically composed of a member from the Standing Committee along with other interested and suitable SMV members. The detailed minutes from Sub-Committee meetings were another crucial source for investigating the evolution of the Society's involvement in residential care for the elderly and secondary education. However, the minute books provided a summary rather than a comprehensive record of discussion. One must therefore consider that like other written records, the minutes may present misinformation, from an unwitting or deliberate form of censorship or editing prior to approval and placement in official records.[100] For although a Clerk who was not a member of SMV recorded the minutes from meetings, they were all checked by SMV before going into its minute books, which allowed members to make changes if they thought they were needed.[101] Records that cast SMV in a negative light may have been amended or eliminated. It is also possible that the Clerk and whomever reviewed the minutes were unconsciously subjective when taking notes and making adjustments, resulting in documentation that may have inadvertently prioritised certain events or ideas for posterity over others. Therefore, we must remember Richard J. Aldrich's pronouncement that, '[h]istorians are what they eat and the convenient but unwholesome diet of processed food on offer in national archives has resulted in a flabby historical posture.'[102] Though this research uses a private rather than a national archive as

[100] Donald Ritchie, 'Introduction: The Evolution of Oral History', in *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History*, ed. by Donald A. Ritchie, (Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 10; Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 100-101, 119, 124; Alessandro Portelli, 'What Makes Oral History Different', in *The Oral History Reader*, ed by Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 68-70.
[101] Simon Awdry Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 29 July 2016. Simon Awdry worked at a law firm in Bristol which assisted the Society with their estates and agricultural holdings. Awdry first became familiar with the Society as their lawyer in this capacity and later became Clerk. He worked with the Society from the 1970s until 1993 when he retired; Merchants' Hall, Book of Proceedings (BoP), 41-47.
[102] Richard J. Aldrich, *The Hidden Hand: Britain, America and Cold War Secret Intelligence* (London: John Murray, 2001), p. 6.

its main repository of written information, Aldrich's sentiment is the same. In order to ascertain a broader range of interpretations this thesis purposefully examines multiple sources, viewpoints and biases, not just that produced by the Society itself.

Material from SMV's archive was thus used in conjunction with government reports, legislation, local newspapers and documents held at the Bristol Archives. Different kinds of sources illuminated the experience of non-Merchant residents of Bristol. They also spanned local perspectives and national policy, linking SMV's work with wider philanthropic trends in England. Policy documents such as White Papers provide evidence on government intentions, programmes and initiatives from the foundation of academies to the improvement of care homes. With regards to education, official Ofsted reports from Merchants' Academy and Colston's Girls' School after its conversion to an academy provide insight into the way in which statutory inspectors perceived SMV's contribution as an academy sponsor by reporting on the ethos and quality of the education offered in its schools. The government also published school league tables and associated data. Statistics on Merchants' Academy and Colston's Girls' School's GSCE performance, be it commendable or questionable, supplement and support the Ofsted findings.[103] Aside from government sources, online archives of article and letters published in the *Bristol Post* (*Bristol Evening Post* until 2012) feature public and community perception of the foundation of Merchants' Academy, the conversion of Colston's Girls' School and the performance of Bristol's secondary education system as a whole. Bristol Archives (formerly Bristol Records Office) also contains information on the public's attitude towards Bristol's education system in the 1990s and 2000s in the form of preserved letters from parents to the City Council. In addition, the archival material provides insight into the Council's work through its minute books from the early 2000s.

Statutory records and regulatory data also assisted in placing the examination of SMV's private-sector influence on care homes in Bristol into a wider historical analysis of welfare state retrenchment policies for elderly care in England between 1979 and 2017. For example, welfare state retrenchment legislation, such as the 1990 NHS and Community Care Act, offered a framework in which to place SMV's growing social entrepreneurial engagement in care homes after 2000. The Care Quality Commission (CQC) provided a gauge of how a statutory inspection body perceived the facilities at Cote Charity, while statistics made publicly available through the Charity Commission disclosed the Cote Charity's and the St Monica Trust's expenditure. The Competition and Markets Authority (CMA), LaingBuisson, the Office of National Statistics and the Institute of Fiscal Studies all published reports on the limits of statutory funding and the

[103] The GCSE performance statistics include data from Merchants' Academy's predecessor school and CGS while it was still an independent school.

pressure on providers to find alternative sources of money in the twenty-first century.[104] These reports underlined one of the key challenges faced by SMV: the need to balance charitable provision and long-term financial viability. Bringing philanthropic purpose and the business mindset into conflict with one another, the subject of care home funding forms a substantial part of the analysis in Chapter Five. Together, all of the written primary sources discussed in this section provide an overview of the care-home system in modern England as well as education policy from 1975 to 2015. Nevertheless, other sources provide an even greater depth of understanding. Oral history, for instance, links the national system to the local setting and aids in the contextualisation and scrutiny of SMV's changing character and growing influence on the philanthropic provision of welfare services in Bristol.

Research on the history of a philanthropic organisation operating through private-sector values benefits from a multidimensional approach that uses archival and oral history, as well as drawing on different angles within each methodology. Within oral history, organisations like SMV may be analysed through the lens of institutional or business history. SMV is not a business, but it bears resemblance to one through its governing structure and private-sector values. In addition, business history often makes heavy use of oral history, which is itself an integral methodology to this research.[105] Ryant stated that oral business history 'is a particularly valuable tool because it can fill in gaps in the historical record created by the practice of making important decisions without much paper documentation'.[106] Stanley Chapman argued that people are the ones that make up businesses, and without their recollections and insights a company's history is hidden beyond what can be found in written documents.[107] Ryant and Chapman's assessments certainly accord with SMV's recent past. Much of its history is preserved in its members' and employees' memories rather than minute books or missives.

Rob Perks also argued that oral history interviewing of businesspeople, particularly in elite corporations, illuminated new perspectives and opportunities to enhance our historical knowledge:

> As outsiders oral historians have a vital role to play in encouraging a sense of openness and transparency in a culture too often marked by secrecy, and therefore also a role that is a valuable asset in a civil society. To neglect whole sectors of society and write-off major institutions with diverse workforces as "elitist" is to ignore significant engines within our society that shape all our lives.[108]

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[104] LaingBuisson, *Care of Older People – UK Market Report 2013/14*, 26th edition, April 2014; Competition and Markets Authority, *Care Homes Market Study: Update Paper*, (2017); Storey, *Living Longer*, 13 August 2018.
[105] Anthony Seldon and Joanna Pappworth, *By Word of Mouth: 'Elite' Oral History* (London: Methuen and Co., 1983), p. 153.
[106] Ryant, 'Oral History and Business History', p. 560.
[107] Stanley Chapman, *Jesse Boot of Boots the Chemist* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1974), pp. 9-10.
[108] Rob Perks, "'Corporations are People too!": Business and Corporate Oral History in Britain', *Oral History* 38:1 (2010) pp. 49-50.

Perks could well have been writing about SMV: it is not itself a business, but its members are drawn from the upper echelons of local industry and manage a number of trusts and charitable endeavours. SMV has its own history and identity, though it is closely intertwined with that of the city of Bristol. I combine Ryant's, Chapman's and Perks' approaches to demystify SMV's recent history and evaluate its influence on the city of Bristol. Interviewing members and employees at different levels of SMV (from senior leaders to retirees) highlights differing aspects of SMV's history and the people that have contributed to its changing character and involvement in philanthropy between 1975-2017.

In addition to business history, the insights of contemporary historians expose the challenges and benefits of researching the recent history of an organisation like SMV. Between the 1960s and the 1990s a number of historians contemplated the character of contemporary history. Brian Brivati framed the era of contemporary history as one that was within living memory. Alternatively, he wrote, the period could be determined by the main focus of the historian's research, such as a battle if they studied military history or the fifties and sixties if they focused on social and cultural change.[109] Brivati's was a relatively loose interpretation that allowed for a range of topics to come under the heading of contemporary history. A narrower approach came from Anthony Seldon and Peter Hennessey. In establishing the Institute of Contemporary History in 1986, Seldon and Hennessey categorised contemporary history as the period after 1945.[110] However, in their work, political and contemporary history were interchangeable.[111] Likewise, the anthologies *Contemporary British History 1931-61* and *The Contemporary History Handbook* focused largely on political history and the use of interviews, public records and newspapers to write about and analyse it.[112] Politics have played an important part in shaping everyday lives, but as Brivati and Peter Catterall have maintained, contemporary history can and should expand into other

[109] Brian Brivati, 'Introduction', in *The Handbook of Contemporary British History* ed by Brian Brivati, Julia Buxton and Anthony Seldon (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. xvi.
[110] John Barnes, 'Books and Journals', in *Contemporary History: Practice and Methods* ed by Anthony Seldon (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1988), p. 30; Anthony Seldon, 'Contemporary History in the Modern World: Britain' in *Contemporary History*, *Contemporary History: Practice and Methods* ed by Anthony Seldon (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1988), p. 121.
[111] Seldon wrote of the significance of oral history in supplementing traditional documentation and referenced books on the Suez crisis, the Falklands War and Churchill to illustrate his point. Anthony Seldon, 'Interviews', in *Contemporary History: Practice and Methods* ed by Anthony Seldon (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1988), pp. 3-16; Hennessey promoted the use of newspaper articles as a means to understanding politics as they happened. Peter Hennessey, 'The Press and Broadcasting', in *Contemporary History,* pp. 17-29.
[112] *Contemporary British History 1931-1961: Politics and the Limits of Policy* ed by Anthony Gorst, Lewis Johnman and W. Scott Lucas, (London: Pinter Publishers, 1991); *The Contemporary History Handbook* ed by Brian Brivati, Julia Buxton and Anthony Seldon, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996).

disciplines, experiences and perspectives.[113]

Catterall advocated an interdisciplinary approach to contemporary history that examined the changing characteristics of human society, its values and dynamics. For him, this examination could not occur in one specific time period. He envisioned using contemporary history as a vehicle to explain and interpret aspects of modern-day life at the end of the twentieth century, particularly to 'locate social policy in long-run historical trends.'[114] Although the historical background for this thesis extends only to the beginning of the twentieth century, it utilises Catterall's idea to examine contemporary educational and social policy within a historical framework. In addition, it is a genuine work of contemporary history. Throughout the dissertation I analysed evidence from interviews, public records and newspapers, to supplement archival research, a method Seldon and Hennessey advocated. Academy sponsorship is a government-led initiative, less than twenty years old. Therefore, many of the resources available on the development of academies, their early outcomes and public response are not available in public archives. Likewise, public information on care homes is available through inspection reports and academic studies, not government archives and databases. These alternative materials were used to illuminate *contemporary* approaches to welfare provision and to demonstrate the value of qualitative analysis in the investigation into the retrenchment of service provision in modern British social and political practices.[115] Using statutory reports also linked this research to public history; it did not occur in the public realm but was related to a public outcome, in that SMV provided welfare services in lieu of the state.[116] These written sources played a significant role in my analysis, and were complemented and enhanced by oral history.

Employing oral history as a tool in writing institutional and contemporary history allows us to use case studies like SMV's academies and care homes to explore the intersection between public and private sectors in a local context over the past forty years. SMV has never before been examined through contemporary historical research. But this case study's contribution to British history extends beyond that – it is also a study in institutional and oral history methodology.

Although I met with a variety of people it is important to bear in mind that most of SMV's members (of its total number of eighty-six) I interviewed were or had been actively involved in its schools or care homes and were therefore more likely to espouse enthusiasm for SMV's recent work. Members who preferred traditional activities or who were less interested in engaging with

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[113] Peter Catterall, 'What (if anything) is distinctive about contemporary history?', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 32:4 (1997), pp. 449-450, 452; Brivati, 'Introduction', pp. xiii, xxiii.
[114] Peter Catterall, 'Contemporary British History: A Personal View', *Contemporary British History*, 16:1 (2002), pp. 5-6; Catterall, 'What is distinctive about contemporary history?', pp. 442-444, 446, 450, 451.
[115] Green, *History, Policy and Public Purpose*, p. 43.
[116] Green, *History, Policy and Public Purpose*, p. 23

care homes or state-maintained secondary schools were not as well represented as the active members in interviews. This disparity was due in part to age. Older, perhaps, more conservative members who had opposed change in SMV were, in some cases, unwell or had passed away. Other members may not have initially agreed with, for example, sponsoring Merchants' Academy but later changed their minds, and did not wish to put their initial impressions on record. In total, I interviewed eighteen members of SMV, two past and one present employee of the Hall and seven non-members who had been or still were involved with SMV's schools and care homes. Of course, the latter seven people were not the only ones discussing the schools and care homes; their unique perspectives added to the testimony provided by the eighteen SMV members and its three employees.

Students and parents of children at the schools were not interviewed, nor were residents of the care homes. Valuable as their insight might have been it was beyond the scope of this research to speak to users of SMV's services. Certainly, research could be done to analyse the outcomes of SMV's initiatives through the perspective of students at its schools and residents in its care homes. But this thesis focuses on the internal dynamics of the organisation and the way in which its private-sector principles shaped the development of state-maintained schools and old age care homes, rather than a survey of 'user' experience.

Despite its frequent appearance in business and contemporary history, historians have debated the use of oral history and its reliability as a research method. Eric Hobsbawm considered oral history an unreliable source due to what he perceived as its dependence on personal subjectivity. Each account, he believed, would be marred by human error manifesting as exaggeration, misremembrance and a reliance on anecdotes to convey memories.[117] His concerns are valid and their implications are discussed in relation to my own research further on. On the opposite end of the spectrum, however, and fully in support of oral history was Paul Thompson:

> While historians study the actors of history from a distance, their characterizations of their lives, views, and actions will always risk being misdescriptions, projections of the historian's own experience and imagination: a scholarly form of fiction. Oral evidence, by transforming the "objects" of study into "subjects", makes for a history which is not just richer, more vivid, and heart-rending, but *truer*.[118]

Thompson's statement indicated an unequivocal preference for oral history over traditional methods while unintentionally highlighting the problems of relying on one form of research over the other. Accepting oral testimony at face value can result in the same bias found in written sources as oral history is equally likely to present a certain account or story with a specific

[117] Eric Hobsbawm, *On History* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1997), p. 206.
[118] Thompson, *The Voice of the Past*, p. 117.

perspective. Further, the richness and emotion of the account depends on the narrator rather than the medium in which their voice is preserved. A good writer can draw in a reader with no connections to a particular event, years after its conclusion. Likewise, an uninteresting speaker can render a lively topic dull. Information gleaned from an interview may be best used in conjunction with written sources, where both are available. Neither will necessarily be less subjective or more factual than the other, yet a comparison between the two offers room for analysis on how they interact and impact the body of historical knowledge.

Oral history used in conjunction with written sources also has the potential to provide researchers with a fuller picture of the past.[119] According to Charles Wilson, the use of cross referencing and obtaining multiple views reveals 'the complexity of human motive, the fugitive nature of historical "truth", the gaps in the evidence'.[120] Using this approach, the written and spoken sources researched throughout the course of this project acted as distinct and equally valuable methods of gaining insight into SMV's recent history. The main written source, the Standing Committee minutes, provided chronology, statements of intent and a sense that a change in SMV's activities and interests accelerated after 2000. In contrast, the minutes did not offer many details about what members thought at the time, nor substantive accounts of the debates and discussions that took place over the years. For instance, in the case of SMV's management of the St Monica Trust's endowment, (discussed in Chapter Five) the minutes drily referred to changes being made in relation to the Charity Commission.[121] In a stark juxtaposition, oral history interviews yielded rich insight into a tempestuous and long-drawn out conflict.

The careful evaluation and cross-examination of sources applies not only to written versus spoken records but also to conflicting viewpoints and recollections obtained across multiple oral history interviews. Alessandro Portelli's approach, which I adopted when conducting my own interviews, relied on testimony for the illumination it provided into how an interviewee felt to be a part of events, rather than for chronological or factual statements. He stated, '[o]ral sources tell us not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now think they did.'[122] Portelli's method of evaluating interviews for what they told us about people, their relationship to one another and to events, provides the researcher with the opportunity to hear from interviewees that presented their personal engagement with past events as the 'right' course of action, compared to others who had the 'wrong' approach. But an

[119] Seldon, 'Interviews', pp. 4-5, 8-9.
[120] Charles Wilson, *The History of Unilever* (London: Cassell, 1970), p. x.
[121] The Charity Commission, *Governing Scheme for St Monica Trust*, 5 August 2004, pp. 3-4; MH, BoP 46, *Standing Committee*, 28 July 2003, p. 203.
[122] Alessandro Portelli, 'What Makes Oral History Different', in *The Oral History Reader*, 3rd edn. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), p. 52.

interviewer must be aware of the possibility for the interviewee's perceptions to have changed over time. As Portelli argued, social influence, prevalent public narratives and a shift in beliefs, whether personal, faith-based or political in nature may alter the way a narrator views past events.[123] Felipe Fernandez-Armesto looked at it another way. 'Memory is not a highway for time travel: the past it takes you to never really happened quite the way you think.'[124] Tim Cole also analysed changing spatial proximity to people or places in traumatic events, with conclusions that relate to oral history more widely. He argued that interviewees remake the past not only chronologically but may also do so spatially by 'positioning themselves and others closer and further from the action and each other.'[125] Bearing Portelli, Fernandez-Armesto and Cole's observations in mind, I approached interviewees' recollections with the knowledge that they might not offer a factual account of an event, reflect what the narrator truly felt at the time, nor the extent to which they were actually involved. The roles and actions of the key players who drove initiatives forward also must not be taken for granted. Therefore, interviewee testimony was always read in the context of other primary source materials.

Archival evidence relating to the members of SMV who were interviewed generally indicated that their contemporary testimony widely reflected their priorities and beliefs from years past. However, the situations and topics they discussed in interview might not have encompassed their whole experience or represented it as it actually occurred. SMV's relationship with the St Monica Trust, discussed in Chapter Five, serves as one example. The early 2000s dispute between the two charities has become a part of SMV lore, spoken about as a time of fractured relationships and tense division. Memories of those involved may have become somewhat sensationalised or exaggerated in an unintentional attempt to perpetuate the story. Conversely, a desire to keep the argument in the past may have resulted in interviewees choosing not to discuss certain aspects of it.

Responses from interviewees are not the only aspect of oral history that must undergo scrutiny. Oral history researchers may have their own understanding of past events or a preconceived notion of what is important about them. Potentially significant information and recollections may be obscured by the historian seeking to address a specific historical question.[126] It is therefore essential for historians facilitating an interview to be aware of their own entrenched

[123] Portelli, 'What Makes Oral History Different?', p. 52.
[124] Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, 'Epilogue', in *What is History Now?* ed. by David Cannadine (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 156.
[125] Tim Cole, '(Re)Placing the Past: Spatial Strategies of Retelling Difficult Stories', *The Oral History Review*, 42:1 (2015) p. 49.
[126] Kathryn Anderson and Dana C. Jack, 'Learning to Listen: Interview Techniques and Analyses', in *The Oral History Reader*, 3rd edn, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), p. 180; Valerie Yow, Interviewing Techniques and Strategies', in *The Oral History Reader*, 3rd edn, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), p. 164.

perspectives, expectations and agenda and prevent these from interfering with the interviewee's account and any unexpected insights it may yield. With regards to my own interviews, I strove to maintain an objective view of SMV's work and to consider each interviewee and their experience as an individual. Little is actually known about SMV amongst people in Bristol, and at the start, I too had limited knowledge. Therefore, it was important to try and ask questions that resulted in the gaining of real knowledge and understanding, rather than to fulfil a preconceived notion of a private, elite organisation. It was also necessary for me to set aside my own thoughts on SMV's philanthropic work and character to explore the opinions and wide-ranging experiences of its members and past employees.

Thus far we have examined the bias that might stem from the interviewee and/or the interviewer but we must also consider the relationship between the two, and the outcome it produces. Lynn Abrams offered a means of analysis on this aspect of oral history interviewing. She argued that oral history must be considered as the process of conducting an interview to ascertain information, as well as the product of the interview, the narrative account produced.[127] The interaction between narrator and interviewer is unique to every interview. A rapport, tension, comfortable professionalism or even friendship may develop between the two participants but at the very least the presence of the interviewer unconsciously influences the narrator's account. As an outsider interviewing elites, I expected, based on Abrams' notion of intersubjectivity or interpersonal dynamics, that my interviewees might have approached the interview in a different way, had they been talking to a colleague or elite interviewer.[128] Indeed, coming to the end of this project and after conducting interviews in which much insight was gained and information elucidated, I believe that my status as an 'outsider' posed a certain advantage.[129] As a young American woman without a revealing class accent and of a different age and background to the people I interviewed, I was a new personality for many participants. I came from a place well outside the realm of large-scale Bristol philanthropy and the Society. As a result, most people were quite open and willing to share their thoughts and memories. Indeed, some seemed happy to have someone with whom they could share their experiences and spoke about them at legnth. Others seemed uncertain or bemused about why they had been invited to participate in an interview about SMV's history and were not certain how they would be able to make a contribution. Perhaps musing on decades old experiences that no one had previously enquired into was somewhat

[127] Lynn Abrams, *Oral History* (London: Routledge, 2009) p. 2.
[128] As Abrams argued, a different interviewer would result in a different outcome. Lynn Abrams, *Oral History Theory* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), p. 54; See also Penny Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives: Discourse and Subjectivity in Oral Histories of the Second World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), p. 15.
[129] See Rob Perks, 'Corporations are People too!' (page 48) for further discussion on the merits of recruiting an external interviewer to conduct an oral history.

puzzling to people used to speaking about their careers or more recent charitable work. A few interviewees were wary and expressed concern about where the information I gathered would go and who, besides myself, would have access to it.[130] Their apprehensiveness was indicative of a range of opinions held amongst SMV members, some of them controversial. One Merchant's belief did not necessarily accord to that of another.

When it came to interviewing elites, Seldon speculated that interviewees of a higher status may be focused, even subconsciously, on self-gratification and maintaining a certain composure.[131] This rather human tendency to want to show oneself in a positive light was apparent, but not overly so. It was rare for an interviewee to pontificate on, rather than explain the roles they had held and influence they had curried. Strikingly, interviewees did not typically adopt a line of 'official' SMV narrative, speaking instead of personal or small-group beliefs.[132] More than anything else, the interviews revealed the fallacy of labelling SMV as a homogenous group. Different testimonies emphasised the idea that individuals and small groups (in the forms of committees or unofficial pressure groups) were responsible for significant changes within SMV as well as stalled initiatives. Members did not have the time, interest or energy to be involved in every SMV initiative, so some expressed ambivalence towards a topic about which another felt very strongly. Consequently, SMV motivations stemmed from wider social change as well as individual members' ingrained beliefs and outlook on whether to pursue change or maintain the status-quo. Although there existed a broad generational change between members admitted in the post-war era and those recruited towards the end of the century, opinions did not correlate directly with age. Some older members in the 1980s and 1990s pursued change, while other, newer members wanted to continue following a more traditional path. Considered altogether the material gleaned from interviews demonstrated the presence of a shifting, yet pervasive underlying tension between some members of SMV over its past work and current initiatives.

Interviewees from outside of SMV such as former headteachers and senior employees at the Hall reinforced this impression of the prevalence of small-group dynamics, many speaking directly about their impressions of and experiences working with and for SMV. The testimony of

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[130] As Lenore Layman explained, communication between interviewee and interviewer may be stifled by interviewees who possess reticence in answering questions which can occur if the questions or topics do not fit the interviewees' purpose in agreeing to an interview, if they do not fit within their body of social knowledge, are difficult or painful to discuss, or bring up memories that cannot be corroborated in public or commemorative memory. Lenore Layman, 'Reticence in Oral History Interviews', in *The Oral History Reader*, 3rd edn. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), p. 237.

[131] Anthony Seldon, *Contemporary History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), p. 10.

[132] For more on collective memory see Alistair Thomson, 'Anzac Memories Revisited: Trauma, Memory and Oral History', in *Oral History Review* 42:1 (2015) pp. 1-29; Anna Green, 'Can Memory be Collective?', *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History* ed by Donald A. Ritchie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 96-111; Alessandro Portelli, 'What Makes Oral History Different', in *The Oral History Reader*, 3rd edn. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 48-58.

former headteachers of CGS and Merchants' Academy particularly demonstrated the variability of members' support, enthusiasm or disdain towards SMV's social entrepreneurial initiatives. Whilst SMV presents itself as an active overseer of education in Bristol, the interviews with non-SMV educationalists bolstered my impression that in actuality, SMV's work in education was driven by a few Merchants working closely with headteachers. Even within that group of people, priorities for each school and the direction of SMV's overall education strategy differed. Non-members and members alike could be aligned towards a common goal that pitted SMV members against one another. A similar situation arose relating to the SMV's role within the St Monica Trust. Therefore, these interviews reinforced the idea that differences between Merchant goals and visions for the future could be more pronounced than similarities. Taken together, SMV's written and oral sources, government inspections and publications, and local media records form a sound context in which to place SMV's recent development (and at times tumultuous history), into an active philanthropic organisation in Bristol. Yet again, this complex local picture nuances our understanding of the encroachment of the private sector into the public realm.

Research questions and chapter structure

This thesis is organised into three parts for greater clarity on the complex intersection between the retrenchment of welfare provision, philanthropy and the influence of private-sector values on public services 'on the ground' in a local context. The first two chapters analyse SMV's transformation from a sedate gentlemen's club in 1975 to an active philanthropic organisation by 2017, and the achievements and challenges that came alongside it. This transformation is examined through two different lenses; internal influence as well as external policy change and the growth of new opportunities for philanthropists from the 1980s onwards. Changes in membership, the search for a new purpose and SMV's re-designed leadership structure are analysed in Chapter One, while the second chapter explores the private and philanthropic sectors' creative involvement in the provision of welfare services through 'philanthrocapitalism' and 'social entrepreneurialism' after 1990. Chapters Three through Five then use case studies to consider how internal and external factors together shaped SMV's engagement with state-maintained secondary education and residential care for the elderly from 1975-2017.

Chapters Three and Four examine the influence of welfare state retrenchment policies in practice, using SMV's two secondary academies as case studies. The first case study in Chapter Three focuses on SMV's Merchants' Academy, specifically its development as part of New Labour's vision to improve education in inner-cities and the Society's private-sector influence on a state-maintained secondary school in a disadvantaged neighbourhood. Academy sponsorship

was SMV's first venture into social entrepreneurial engagement with state-maintained education, representing a significant shift from its traditional role as the governing organisation of two fee-paying independent schools. The challenges that arose from SMV's lack of familiarity with the state sector and of members' uncertainty over its educational strategy were a source of tension within SMV but was not exclusive to it. Managing a school that was accountable to central government rather than to the local authority reduced LEA oversight and led to conflict between the vision of SMV as sponsor and the LEA as a statutory body concerned with the impact of academisation on its school network. Such complexities arose from the diverging interests of central and local governments, disparity in goals between sponsor and school as well as within the sponsoring body itself.

Chapter Four analyses SMV's role as academy sponsor from a different angle than that of Merchants' Academy. There, SMV sought to mould a state-maintained academy after the style of education traditionally offered at independent schools. In the case of its other academy, Colston's Girls' School (CGS), SMV oversaw the transition of a private school into a state-maintained academy in 2008. CGS' conversion brought private-sector practices directly into the public sphere. The process inverted SMV's strategy at Merchants' Academy but was open to similar scrutiny. From the way in which students at the new CGS academy were affected by academisation to its impact on the programmes and physical structure of the school itself, Chapter Four analyses the convergence of public and private spheres in a second SMV-governed, state-maintained school. SMV's relationship to CGS is also considered. The sponsorship of another academy was celebrated by some members while it caused concern amongst others. Chapter Four examines this difference in opinion and its possible basis in SMV's transition to a social entrepreneurial organisation. It also explores SMV's professional relationship with the local authority before broadening to analyse the wider impact of the academy programme in Bristol between 2000-2017.

Chapter Five shifts the scope of research to SMV's involvement in residential care of the elderly by providing an historical overview of residential services available to the elderly in twentieth-century England. This overview lays the foundation for examining change over time: both on a national scale, as policymaking shaped England's care home system as well as through a case study of SMV and the effect its increasing social entrepreneurial engagement and private-sector outlook had on the quality of accommodation and the provision of services in its three almshouses and the Cote Charity's care homes from 1979-2017. This chapter also analyses SMV's relationship with the St Monica Trust as its endowment trustee and the tension that developed between the two different philanthropic organisations over each's respective roles. Private-sector provision of residential care for the elderly has become an integral and potentially lucrative aspect

of welfare provision for elderly people: operating on a quasi-market and trying to reconcile business perspectives and resident needs resulted in a conflict of values that placed members of SMV and the St Monica Trust in contention with one another. SMV and St Monica were two non-statutory providers in Bristol that faced the challenge of providing welfare services and navigating the boundary between public and private sectors between the 1979-2017. Historians of modern Britain will benefit from the wider findings of this case study examination on the blurred boundaries between philanthropy and business practice in care homes for the elderly.

The conclusion reiterates the thesis' overall argument: institutional, and oral history methodologies combine to obtain a greater understanding of the shifting boundary between public and private sectors in late-twentieth and early twenty-first century England. Specifically, my examination of SMV's transformation over the past forty years from elite gentlemen's club to active social entrepreneurial provider of welfare services in Bristol demonstrates the value of analysing national policymaking within a local context. Individual actors with their own values and perspectives, coupled with unique local circumstances requires in-depth research into the way in which national policy was carried out 'on the ground', and the effect such values had on the nature of the service provided. Accordingly, this dissertation sits at the intersection of contemporary history, education and social care policy – examining SMV's private-sector values and philanthropic provision of state-maintained secondary education and residential care for the elderly over the past forty years.

Chapter One

Parochial and Paternalistic to Professional Philanthropy? The Changing Nature of Voluntarism in the Late Twentieth and Early Twenty-first Century

Introduction

Philanthropy and the state have intersected in England for well over one hundred years. Using contemporary historian Peter Catterall's approach to 'locate social policy in long-run historical trends', this chapter examines the way in which the Victorian charitable ethic informed voluntarism and policymaking in the twentieth and early-twenty-first centuries.[1] At the beginning of the twentieth century communities founded supportive organisations, charitable campaigns began to be executed on a national scale and neighbours relied on mutual-aid; practices that endured following the introduction of the welfare state in the 1940s.[2] Policymaking in the 1960s and 1970s envisioned voluntarism and the welfare state complementing one another, but in the 1980s, the Conservative government sought to expand the voluntary sector's role beyond grass-roots initiatives to large private-sector and philanthropic provision of state-maintained services. Successive governments embraced aspects of this welfare state retrenchment policy with the result that by 2017 ordinary citizens had come to rely on private finance and/or expertise for the provision of many public services. Therefore, from the 1980s onwards, large-scale retrenchment policies helped transform private companies and philanthropic organisations into major providers of welfare services, acting under the recently-coined terminology of 'philanthrocapitalism' and 'social entrepreneurialism'.

These welfare state retrenchment policies have significantly shaped aspects of everyday life in modern England such as going to school and selecting a retirement or care home in which to live. However, while historians and social scientists have examined the way in which government policies influenced the development of philanthropic initiatives on a broad scale, the way in which the philanthropic provision of welfare services were carried out 'on the ground', in local settings requires further analysis. This chapter's examination of the history of voluntarism and the rise of private-sector influence on the provision of state-maintained services paves the way for placing SMV's recent history into a wider national context while highlighting the value of research focused on local actors and circumstances.

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[1] Peter Catterall, 'Contemporary British History: A Personal View', *Contemporary British History*, 16:1 (2002), p. 2.
[2] Frank Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse: Philanthropy in Modern Britain* (London: Faber and Faber, 1988); Robert H. Bremner, *Giving: Charity and Philanthropy in History* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1996); David G. Green, 'The Friendly-Societies and Adam Smith Liberalism' in David Gladstone (ed) *Before Beveridge: Welfare Before the Welfare State*, (London: Civitas, 1999), pp. 18-25; Michael Young and Peter Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd: 1957).

Concepts of 'charity' and 'philanthropy'

Historians of Victorian England have typically understood charity as essentially local acts of kindness and support between families and neighbours, both affluent and poor.[3] Assistance with rent, the provision of meals, housekeeping and caring for the young, ill and elderly were all ways in which people supported one another, particularly prior to the establishment of the welfare state.[4] Such acts were common among the less well-off, demonstrating that charity occurred in many different forms at all levels of society. The better-off were also seen to benefit from charity in their capacity as providers. For example, in Victorian and Edwardian England affluent women involved in charitable activity had the opportunity to influence lives beyond the walls of their homes by imparting lifestyle and household management advice to less well-off members of their communities.[5] In addition to taking on home visiting some women were given the opportunity to acquire book-keeping and secretarial skills by providing administrative support to charities. Filling these roles could instil in women a sense of satisfaction, confidence and self-respect that may have been lacking in their domestic tasks.[6]

Personal fulfilment could extend beyond women to include the middle class as a whole. M. J. Dalton stressed the significance of early twentieth-century voluntary infirmaries in producing a spirit of mutual cooperation among middle-class volunteers with a range of political and religious views.[7] Jane Lewis espoused a similar view, arguing that the well-off participated in charity for those less fortunate than themselves as a matter of citizenship.[8] Charity served a vital function. It gave the middle-class a role in the delivery of social services while poorer members of society were seen to benefit at a time when state assistance through the Poor Law was meagre and disparaging.[9] However, Daunton argued that as politics became more secular over time and businesses became nationalized and thus anonymized across many towns, community charitable acts driven by familiarity started to decline. Nevertheless, Daunton focused on the reduction of middle-class,

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[3] Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse,* pp. 6, 25, 27-28; Bremner, *Giving,* pp. 160, 186.
[4] Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse*, p. 29.
[5] However, recipients were not always happy to receive the advice, and also judgement, that came alongside such visits. Jane Lewis, 'Women, Social Work and Social Welfare in Twentieth-Century Britain: From (Unpaid) Influence to (Paid) Oblivion?' in *Charity, Self-Interest and Welfare in the English Past* ed. Martin Daunton (Abington, Oxfordshire: Routledge, 1996), pp. 208-210; Pat Thane, 'The Working Class and State "Welfare" in Britain, 1880-1914', in David Gladstone (ed) *Before Beveridge: Welfare Before the Welfare State*, (London: Civitas, 1999), pp. 105-107; Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse,* p. 23;
[6] Joyce Goodman, 'Sex and the City: Educational Initiatives for "Dangerous" and "Endangered" Girls in Late Victorian and Early Edwardian Manchester', *Paedagogica Historica,* 39:1 (2003), pp. 75-76; Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse*, pp. 23, 30.
[7] M.J. Daunton, 'Payment and Participation: Welfare and State-Formation in Britain 1900-1951', *Past and Present*, 150:1 (1996), p. 188.
[8] Jane Lewis, 'The Voluntary Sector in the Mixed Economy of Welfare', in David Gladstone (ed) *Before Beveridge: Welfare Before the Welfare State*, (London: Civitas, 1999), pp. 14.
[9] Lewis, The Voluntary Sector in the Mixed Economy of Welfare', pp. 14-15.

local charitable providers and therefore did not account for a new approach to voluntary action that was emerging from the extremely wealthy. For it was in the late Victorian era that large-scale philanthropy and its focus on social initiatives came into fashion.

The historian Robert H. Bremner contended that late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century philanthropy was driven by men such as John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie who donated vast amounts of money to various causes for public benefit.[10] Through them, the concept of the fabulously wealthy donating substantive sums of money to anonymous beneficiaries was established. And while contemporary philanthropic acts continue to include donations from the wealthy, Bremner's interpretation of modern philanthropy allowed for a more flexible definition, something 'we give to prevent and correct social and environmental problems and improve life and living conditions for people and creatures we don't know and who have no claim on us.'[11] Bremner's is a sound description of a philanthropic principle that sees people, not necessarily the affluent, helping both mankind and the environment beyond the donors' immediate environs. Philanthropists could be wealthy but could also seemingly address 'social and environmental problems' through active engagement rather than just financial means. This definition brings together the Victorian concept of community services with that of the rich donor writing cheques.

How were these concepts enacted in practice after the Victorian period? Having considered the meaning behind the words 'charity' and 'philanthropy', the chapter now moves on to examine the early interaction between state services and charitable initiatives from 1900 to 1950. Such an examination is necessary, as one must understand the development of the welfare state before one can examine the retrenchment of statutory providers in the late-twentieth century.

From selective pensions to 'cradle to grave' care, 1900-1950

Early twentieth-century statutory support for the welfare of British people was not intended to provide a comprehensive service and many people continued to rely on charitable services. Nevertheless, in some instances, such as with friendly societies, the government began working with charities to disseminate its limited welfare services. An examination of the interaction between the two in the first half of the twentieth century underlines the foundation on which the welfare state was established, whilst highlighting the enduring principle that voluntary action would continue to complement state services. Consequently, state welfare services and the voluntary sector have long been bound to one another.

In 1908 the Liberal government introduced non-contributory, means-tested pensions for

[10] Bremner, *Giving*, p. 159.
[11] Bremner, *Giving*, p. xi.

people aged 70 and over.[12] Pensions were followed by the 1911 National Insurance Act, which provided insurance, in the form of protection against illness and unemployment, to workers.[13] Working males earning under £160 per year were also given access to National Health Insurance (NHI) which set a fixed capitation fee for doctors.[14] However, these insurance benefits did not extend to children or women taking care of the home or working in other uninsurable jobs.[15] Therefore, while circumstances may have improved for some workers, neither pensions nor National Insurance were a panacea for a lifetime of deprivation. As Lewis argued, despite its creation, NHI did not lead to improved access to medical care for the masses and in the early twentieth century, many working-class men as well as their wives and children gained access to medical care through voluntary organisations such as friendly societies and trade unions rather than NHI.[16]

These community organisations played a vital role in the provision of welfare services. David G. Green explained that friendly societies started out as working men's social gatherings which evolved into mutual-aid, rather than charitable welfare groups. By 1910, 6.6 million members across England and Wales paid contributions to a central fund, in return receiving benefits when too ill to work. These societies also provided access to health facilities and support for the widows of young workers.[17] Local societies were susceptible to financial trouble and occasionally joined national federations which allowed workers more flexibility across geographical areas and jobs.[18] Therefore, a model of national, voluntarily-organised welfare was established, although it was still only available to a limited number of people. Green presented the voluntary societies as close-knit communities comprised of honest, self-sacrificing men that went to great lengths to help one another. However, his interpretation was not backed by empirical evidence such as balance sheets, records of pay-outs and written observations. For example, Green's assertion that 'members felt they had a real stake in the organisation, and their sense of belonging

[12] Martin Pugh, 'Working-Class Experience and State Social Welfare, 19-8-1914: Old Age Pensions Reconsidered', *The Historical Journal* 45:4 (2002) pp. 776-777; M. A. Crowther, *The Workhouse System 1834-1929: The History of an English Social Institution* (London: Batsford Academic and Educational Ltd, 1981), p. 84; Pat Thane, *Foundations of the Welfare State*, 2nd edn. (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 1996), p. 76.
[13] Selina Todd, *The People: The Rise and Fall of the Working Class 1910-2010*, (London: John Murray Publishers, 2014), p. 16.
[14] The Cabinet Papers, 'National Health Insurance', (2018) <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/cabinetpapers/themes/national-health-insurance.htm>; Todd, *The People*, 16.
[15] Katharine Bradley, *Poverty, Philanthropy and the State: Charities and the Working Classes in London, 1918-79* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), pp. 52, 56.
[16] Jane Lewis, 'Providers, "Consumers", the State and the Delivery of Health-care Services in Twentieth-century Britain', in *Medicine in Society: Historical Essays* ed. by Andrew Wear (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 324, 328-329.
[17] Green, 'The Friendly-Societies and Adam Smith Liberalism', pp. 20-22.
[18] Green, 'The Friendly Societies', p. 21.

not only discouraged manipulation of the system, but also created a genuine sense of fraternity' is not clearly supported by his evidence and may present a rather idealistic analysis.

Friendly societies, trade unions and councils and the Labour movement at large sought to improve the lives of their members through mutual-aid and state intervention. Yet opinions differed over the extent to which the state should involve itself in provision for workers. Pat Thane argued that for some participants of the labour movement, gaining adequate wages and full employment would allow workers to retain their independence.[19] Union and council leaders were wary of the state's motives, believing that the provision of old-age pensions would allow employers to continue offering low pay and irregular work to employees.[20] Such leaders felt concessions such as pensions would ultimately keep the workforce compliant with poor working conditions. At a time when welfare was selective, potential recipients had much to gain but also feared government intrusion into their private lives. Philanthropists and home visitors in the Victorian era had attempted to impose certain standards and behaviour upon some of them; it was assumed the state would do the same.[21] Thane demonstrated that better-off union members preferred self-reliance, engaging in well-paid and guaranteed jobs in order to provide for themselves, their family and their future.[22] However, leaders of the unions recognised that the neediest workers required immediate, tangible improvements rather than allegiance to a long-term principle and that the benefits offered by the government appealed to such workers.[23]

Thane's detailed account illuminated the early-twentieth century interaction between occupational practices and state services while leaving room for the transition of provision to state-maintained local and central government services later on in the century. Lewis linked the start of a substantial relationship between the state and the voluntary sector to the introduction of old-age pensions and social insurance in the early-twentieth century.[24] Indeed, government intervention through friendly societies and their role in public-private partnerships became more prevalent from 1914 to the interwar years. Need also increased during this time. Prior to the introduction of the welfare state in the 1940s, people who had the money available paid for their medical care. However, Noel Whiteside argued, interwar industrial recession and high-unemployment resulted in previously affluent people and workers who had contributed payments requiring assistance and

[19] Thane, *Foundations of the Welfare State*, 2nd edn., p. 58.
[20] Thane, 'The Working Class and State "Welfare" in Britain', pp. 88-90, 94.
[21] Thane, 'The Working Class and State "Welfare" in Britain', pp. 105-107.
[22] Thane, 'The Working Class and State "Welfare" in Britain', p. 96.
[23] Thane, 'The Working Class and State "Welfare" in Britain', pp. 91-92.
[24] Lewis, The Voluntary Sector in the Mixed Economy of Welfare', pp. 15-16.

drawing upon government funds.[25] Looking to save money, the government sought to improve administration and cost effectiveness, part of which involved the transfer of management of public money to private insurance funds.[26] As such, some friendly societies were approved to disseminate NHI to their members, as were industrial insurance schemes.[27] The 'approved (not-profit making) societies' were also to offer benefits beyond statutory health insurance.

In apparent similarity to the system pursued under the Conservative government approximately fifty years later, a variety of offerings was intended to allow the insurance seeker to choose from a range of options and for societies to compete for their membership.[28] However, Whiteside argued that 'market competition and agency independence were illusory.'[29] For one thing, central government retained ultimate control. It determined the level of funds provided to the approved societies and could withhold contingency funds, reduce the number of successful claims it paid out, and amend legislation to redefine claimants' rights.[30] Whiteside also debunked the idea of competition by pointing out that transfers between societies were costly and time-consuming. Transferees faced the disincentive that in many societies additional benefits (such as access to ophthalmology or dentistry) were only given to long-term members. In addition, societies formed cartels that controlled transfers and reduced competition.[31] Nevertheless, there was a wide variety of societies ranging from the well-run to those that did not offer adequate support and lacked democratic principles.[32] Whiteside concluded that the NHI 's replacement by the 1946 National Insurance Act signalled the government's drive for equality, with everyone, not just contributors, given access to care.[33] She argued that privatisation in the 1980s and 1990s indicated a return to pre-Beveridge notions of the market and individual action as the way forward in welfare services. For Whiteside, the division between the state and the market was not as important as the operation and direction the responsible organisation took in its approach to welfare.[34]

Whiteside made a valuable point that rather than focusing on the public or charitable aspect of the provider, one must evaluate the reasoning behind their decisions and their effect on

[25] Noel Whiteside, 'Private Provision and Public Welfare: Health Insurance Between the Wars', in David Gladstone (ed) *Before Beveridge: Welfare Before the Welfare State*, (London: Civitas, 1999), p. 27; Nicholas Timmins, *The Five Giants: A Biography of the Welfare State,* 2nd edn (London: HarperCollins, 2001), p. 29.
[26] Whiteside, 'Private Provision and Public Welfare', pp. 27, 29.
[27] Whiteside, 'Private Provision and Public Welfare', p. 29.
[28] Jose Harris, 'Did British Workers want the Welfare State? G.D.H. Cole's Survey of 1942', in Jay Winter (ed) *The Working Class in Modern British History: Essays in Honour of Henry Pelling* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 204.
[29] Whiteside, 'Private Provision and Public Welfare', p. 28.
[30] Whiteside, 'Private Provision and Public Welfare', pp. 30-3.
[31] Whiteside, 'Private Provision and Public Welfare', p. 36.
[32] Harris, 'Did British Workers want the Welfare State?', p. 205.
[33] Whiteside, 'Private Provision and Public Welfare', pp. 41-42.
[34] Whiteside, 'Private Provision and Public Welfare', p. 42.

users. Focusing on outcomes rather than providers can be useful, yet it is important not to discount the provider and its perspective. Policy directions and goals cannot always be evaluated without reference to an organisation's character. For example, the ethos of SMV's sponsored academy (Merchants' Academy) is directly related to the experiences and perspectives of the Merchants. Understanding the school would be impossible without first understanding SMV, a subject that will be fully explored in Chapter Three.

Further historical research on welfare services in the first half of the twentieth century was carried out by Jose Harris. She concluded that both domestic economic circumstances and political events on the continent between the two world wars influenced thinking about state intervention in Britain. Disillusionment due to the interwar depression years under a capitalist democracy led some people to admire the Soviet Union and socialism for its success in meeting production targets and nearing full employment.[35] Others believed strategic planning could used in capitalistic societies too. No matter where they stood on the political spectrum, government officials agreed that market mechanisms alone would not rejuvenate industry or alleviate economic strain.[36] With regards to the expansion of state-provided services, Harris contended that ultimately,

> [I]t was the outbreak of [the Second World] [W]ar that had precipitated many of the latent forces for change in British government that had been slowly building up over the interwar years.[37]

The war hastened the development of bureaucratic infrastructure as central government and regional bodies made preparations for invasions, provided emergency medical services to those in need and enforced wartime controls. In addition to domestic and foreign situations that Harris believed precipitated the development of the welfare state, Nicholas Timmins argued that the effects of war resulted in opportunities for social cohesion. Exposure to different people and their living circumstances was facilitated by the evacuation of city dwellers to country villages.[38] Citizens of many backgrounds also experienced solidarity and camaraderie as they suffered tragedies and encountered difficulties associated with the Blitz. Although Timmins rightly cautioned against over-emphasising the extent to which social cohesion grew out of these circumstances, there was a shift in popular and political sentiment towards an interventionist state.[39]

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[35] Jose Harris, 'Society and the State in Twentieth-Century Britain', in F.M.L. Thompson (ed) *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950: Volume 3, Social Agencies and Institutions*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 85.
[36] Harris, 'Society and the State in Twentieth-Century Britain', p. 86.
[37] Harris, 'Society and the State in Twentieth-Century Britain', pp. 89-90.
[38] Timmins, *The Five Giants,* pp. 31-34.
[39] Blackouts and sirens brought opportunities for break ins in houses and shops for rationed goods and other valuable items. Jerry White, *London in the Twentieth Century*, 2nd edn (London: Vintage, 2008), pp. 271-274; Timmins, *The Five Giants,* pp. 34-39.

In 1941, the Chairman of the Social Insurance Committee, William Beveridge, began an appraisal of and made subsequent recommendations for national social insurance schemes and their corresponding services.[40] His enquiries resulted in the 1942 report, 'Social Insurance and Allied Services', later referred to as the Beveridge Report. In it he concluded that social insurance as well a national system of healthcare, family allowances, and full employment would help to combat the five giants of welfare: Want, Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Idleness.[41] In return for gaining access to these services, Beveridge proposed that every working person should make a weekly contribution to the state. In defence of the expansion of welfare services on a universal basis (previously not typically desired by the populace as whole, as demonstrated by Thane) he wrote:

> Now, when the war is abolishing landmarks of every kind, is the opportunity for using experience in a clear field. A revolutionary moment in the world's history is a time for revolutions, not for patching.[42]

The public responded to the report with interest, evident from the fact that over half a million copies of it were sold to ordinary Britons.[43] The media also largely supported the report, though conservative news columns expressed concern over its potential to transform British society into one of passive, rather than active citizens.[44]

Politicians embraced the Beveridge Report with cross-party political support of its recommendations reflected in campaign promises of 1945. Both the Labour party and the Conservatives assured voters they would deliver full employment, social security and the NHS. The Conservative manifesto proclaimed that:

> National well-being is founded on good employment, good housing and good health. But there always remain those personal hazards of fortune, such as illness, accident or loss of job, or industrial injury, which may leave the individual and his family unexpectedly in distress…One of our most important tasks will be to pass into law and bring into action as soon as we can a nation-wide and compulsory scheme of National Insurance based on the plan announced by the Government of all Parties in 1944.[45]

Labour, alongside promises to reach full employment with firm control of private industry, called for universal access to high-quality health facilities and the extension of social insurance. In an attempt to differentiate itself from the claims of the Conservatives, the Labour party juxtaposed

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[40] Timmins, *The Five Giants*, p. 18.
[41] The Beveridge Report: 'The Way to Freedom from Want', *The National Archives*, PREM 4/89/2, pp. 41-2.
[42] The Beveridge Report: 'The Way to Freedom from Want', *The National Archives*, PREM 4/89/2, pp. 41-2.
[43] Brian Simon, *Education and the Social Order 1940-1990* (London: Lawrence and Wishart Limited, 1991), p. 72.
[44] 'The Beveridge Plan', *Daily Telegraph*, 2 December 1942, p. 4.
[45] 'Mr. Churchill's Declaration of Policy to the Electors', 1945,
<http://www.politicsresources.net/area/uk/man/con45.htm> [accessed 16 November 2017]

its goals against its interpretation of Conservative policy. 'They say, "Full employment. Yes! If we can get it without interfering too much with private industry."' And, 'Labour led the fight against the mean and shabby treatment which was the lot of millions while the Conservative Governments were in power over long years…'[46] That Labour tried to distinguish itself from Conservative claims to welfare policies in this way indicated the consensus the two parties had reached in terms of the need to implement new welfare policies, as well as the competition for delivering them to the public under each party's own ideological view.

Support for the welfare state from across the political spectrum continued into the 1950s. Yet, Brian Abel-Smith and Peter Townsend concluded that: 'By the 1950s, both major political parties had a vested interest in making the creation of the "Welfare State" seem a greater change than it actually was.'[47] The statement implied that the welfare state was popular amongst British citizens. If it was not, both parties would not try to take credit for it. Abel-Smith's and Townsend's proclamation also suggested that the welfare state was not as revolutionary as politicians wanted it to appear to people now relying on its services. In policy terms the welfare state was intended to alleviate social problems but not to act as a panacea for the multitude of (growing) needs amongst millions of people. Although in the immediate post-war era many Britons believed that the new welfare state would look after them from cradle to grave, voluntary organisations continued to find roles for themselves independently of the new welfare system.[48] Beveridge supported this approach as he continued to believe in the principle of voluntary service by and for the people.[49]

The Beveridge Report stated that cooperation between the state and the individual was a key aspect of social security with individuals making contributions in return for a minimum level of security. But the report also called for individual incentive to raise the standard of living beyond this basic level:

> The State in organising security should not stifle incentive, opportunity, responsibility; in establishing a national minimum, it should leave room and encouragement for voluntary action by each individual to provide more than the minimum for himself and his family.[50]

The welfare state was therefore not intended for needs to be met beyond a basic subsistence level. Nonetheless, in spite of the policy objective for citizens to maintain a voluntary spirit, the philanthropic sector was overtaken by state services in the immediate post-war era.

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[46] 'Let us Face the Future: A Declaration of Labour Party Policy for the Consideration of the Nation', 1945, <http://www.politicsresources.net/area/uk/man/lab45.htm> [accessed 16 November 2017]
[47] Brian Abel-Smith and Peter Townsend, *The Poor and the Poorest: A New Analysis of the Ministry of Labour's Family Expenditure Surveys of 1953-54 and 1960* (Andover, Hampshire: The Chapel River Press, 1965), p. 11.
[48] Frank Prochaska, *Philanthropy and the Hospitals of London: The King's Fund, 1897-1990* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 84-85; Maria Brenton, *The Voluntary Sector in British Social Services* (Harlow: Longman, 1985), pp. 18, 21.
[49] Lewis, 'The Voluntary Sector in the Mixed Economy of Welfare', p. 16.
[50] The Beveridge Report: 'The Way to Freedom from Want', *The National Archives*, PREM 4/89/2, pp. 41-42.

Between 1945 and the late 1970s government expenditure on care services increasingly surpassed funding for charities.[51] Less money also came from non-governmental sources as potential donors faced higher taxes.[52] An indicator of the shift in provision came through the nationalisation of voluntary hospitals after the Second World War. The process also eliminated hospitals' associated charities, as they were not considered necessary under the National Health Service (NHS).[53] The historian Frank Prochaska suggested that this reorganisation was based in politicians' and civil servants' support for a new, modern state that would provide for its citizens over the course of their whole lives, and who may have considered charities to be representative of an earlier, less dynamic model of society.[54] Maria Brenton concluded that this sentiment was shared by the general population, with many people considering access to welfare services to be a democratic right and an end to assistance provided by disorganised and amateur charities.[55] Given this popular attitude, the role of the voluntary services was minimised in the minds of many post-war British citizens.[56]

Another way of assessing the reduced popularity of voluntary action amongst ordinary people was discussed by Prochaska in *The Voluntary Impulse*. He argued that the shifting of the media spotlight away from charity and onto the welfare state added to the perceived demise of the voluntary sector in the public mind. Referring to voluntary action as a 'victim of changed public expectations', he argued that while it disappeared from headlines and public awareness, philanthropy remained a significant part of people's lives.[57] For Prochaska, the continued vitality of the voluntary sector was captured in the fact that organisations such as the Samaritans and War on Want were established following the introduction of the welfare state.[58]

Where voluntary societies did decline, Prochaska disputed that their demise was directly correlated to the rise of government provision of services. He referred to mothers' unions as an example. The mothers' unions were popular from the Victorian period through to the outbreak of the Second World War. They offered less affluent women the chance to socialise and make clothing while receiving religious instruction as well as childcare and lifestyle advice.[59] Meetings were substantially less well-attended in the second half of the twentieth century than in their heyday

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[51] Prochaska, *Philanthropy and the Hospitals of London,* p. 84.
[52] Margaret Jones and Rodney Lowe, *From Beveridge to Blair: The First Fifty Years of Britain's Welfare State 1948-98* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p. 207.
[53] University Press Scholarship Online, *Philanthropy and the Hospitals of London: The King's Fund, 1897-1990,* (2016) <http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198202660.001.0001/acprof-9780198202660-chapter-7>
[54] Prochaska, *The King's Fund*, pp. 84-85.
[55] Maria Brenton, *The Voluntary Sector in British Social Services* (Harlow: Longman, 1985), pp. 18, 21.
[56] Brenton, *The Voluntary Sector in British Social Services*, p. 23.
[57] Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse*, pp. 1, 83-84.
[58] Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse*, pp. 1-2.
[59] Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse*, pp. 52-56.

but Prochaska attributed the fall in popularity to social and economic changes not necessarily related to the welfare state. The rise in living standards, an increase in the number of women entering employment, the lessening role of religion in everyday life and growing knowledge of contraception all contributed to the deterioration of the mothers' meetings original purpose.[60] It is a convincing argument. Nonetheless, some of the changes that resulted in reduced attendance at mothers' meetings may have been indirectly, rather than directly attributable to the establishment of the welfare state. Prochaska himself argued that some of the decline in religious sentiment was linked to improvements in medicine and access to it. In his book *The Voluntary Impulse* he stated:

> As medical treatment improved with the introduction of new drugs and painkillers, Christianity lost some of its transforming power. Souls slipped away as more could be done to save bodies.[61]

Therefore, full employment and the welfare state, in the form of universal access to healthcare through the NHS, could have indirectly led to a loss of enthusiasm for religious discussion (and attendance) at mothers' meetings. Though there were many factors that contributed to the decline of mothers' union this example serves to demonstrate the nuances and complex relationship that developed between voluntary action and the introduction of welfare-state services in the immediate post-war era. Changing social practices, personal beliefs and access to statutory services free at the point of use resulted in the public's shifting relationship with voluntary organisations. Although some of these organisations diminished or became less visible to the public, many continued to provide services alongside the welfare state.

Re-emergence of the voluntary sector

The role of philanthropic organisations within the welfare state received renewed attention in the 1960s and 1970s as it became clear to both politicians and the public that the welfare state could not meet current levels of need, let alone an increase in demand. Abel-Smith and Townsend, for example, discovered that the number of people living in poverty had actually increased between 1954 and 1960 as the proportion of older people and large families reliant on support, grew.[62] Examples of such people living in poverty were illustrated in Townsend's research, as well as that of Michael Young and Peter Willmott, all of whom conducted surveys into working-class life in East London in the 1950s. Young and Willmott frequently encountered cramped, outdated

[60] Mothers' meetings still exist as contemporary Christian organisations, although its purpose seems to some outdated and old-fashioned. Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse,* p. 57.
[61] Prochaska, *The Voluntary Impulse*, p. 75.
[62] Abel-Smith and Townsend, *The Poor and the Poorest,* p. 60.

housing with multiple families sharing stoves, water taps and outdoor toilets.[63] Townsend focused on the life and needs of elderly people who were also exposed to the conditions described by Young and Willmott. He found that their circumstances often worsened after retirement as pensions and national assistance did not allow elderly people to maintain basic aspects of their lifestyles. Money was no longer available to pay for radio rental or cinema tickets, or to buy cards for grandchildren, for example.[64] Townsend denounced 'subsistence' income, or the bare minimum people received based on the government's calculations of need, and advocated for using 'relative poverty' as an assessment of need. Rather than retired people facing a precipitate decline in living standards and feeling considerably less well-off than during their working lives, need would be measured in terms of relative poverty, which would allow retired people to retain comforts and security.[65] Townsend's and Young and Willmott's studies consequently highlighted the deprivation that continued to exist following the establishment of the welfare state. Although many people (including residents of East London) benefitted from vital welfare services, post-war prosperity was not universally achieved and significant levels of relative deprivation continued to persist.

The welfare state's inability to meet adequately all of society's needs was not immediately apparent. Public belief in the welfare state could be seen in opinion-based commentary and features in national newspapers. Although some writers acknowledged that work still needed to be done in relation to specific populations such as elderly people and young widowed mothers, many articles, particularly in newspapers aimed at conservative readers, were positive in tone.[66] An editorial in the *Economist* in 1956 claimed, 'poverty is fast disappearing.'[67] The writer recognised that need remained in some small homeless groups and among labourers, but held the family of the needy individuals accountable for their circumstances, rather than the state. In doing so, the author acknowledged the existence of poverty but was able to celebrate the success of the welfare state. In 1952 a writer for the *Daily Mail* recalled a visit to London's East End in which they viewed high-quality house fixtures. The experience led them to refute the claim that the East End was an area of 'poverty-stricken slums'. On the contrary, the piece declared that '[r]egular work, higher wages, and education have brought about a revolution in the area.'[68] This article was penned

[63] Michael Young and Peter Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd: 1957), pp. 17, 19, 22, 102-103.
[64] Peter Townsend, *The Family Life of Old People: An Inquiry in East London* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1957), pp. 155-156, 166-169.
[65] Townsend, *The Family Life of Old People*, p. 154, 156, 163, 166.
[66] 'A Gap in Welfare', *Daily Mail,* 21 January 1953, p. 1; Ruth Bowley, 'Making do on the Widow's Mite', *Daily Telegraph*, 14 August 1959, p. 9; Peter Haley, 'Socialist Security', *Daily Mail*, 2 April 1963, p. 10; 'Sponging on the State', *The Times*, 22 March 1966, p. 13.
[67] 'The Homeless in London', *Economist*, 22 September 1956, pp. 942-943.
[68] 'Brighter Homes for the East End –With Money Well Spent', *Daily Mail*, 5 June 1952, p. 2.

around the same time Townsend and Young and Willmott were surveying residents of Bethnal Green, but the writer had a very different perception of the area.

Although more newspaper articles in the 1960s began to raise questions and concerns about the efficacy of the welfare state, some sustained the myth of a golden era of prosperity. For example, Betty Reyburn wrote in the *Telegraph* in 1967: 'In 1963, when the Conservatives were in power, a report showed that poverty, after the "never had it so good" years, was again present on a scale sufficient to case anxiety.'[69] Reyburn therefore accepted the idea of a golden-era welfare state, though she conceded it was in decline in the early 1960s. She was not the only one to write about poverty. From the mid-1960s journalists and commentators more commonly reported on Townsend's and Abel-Smith's work and the persistence of poverty.[70] Society was beginning to understand that the welfare state had not and could not fully support all of its citizens.

A welfare state that was unable to wholly address every citizen's need came under increasing pressure from the public. Derek Fraser asserted that as Britons embraced the welfare state and demand for services grew, government spending on services increased at a rate higher than economic growth as a whole. As a result, the state used ever more resources trying to provide for needs that Beveridge had not anticipated.[71] Geoffrey Finlayson argued that an ageing population, low-wage earners, single-parent families, and an initial rise in birth rates after the war contributed to an unforeseen strain on government resources.[72] He believed this led to frustration as citizens were unable to secure adequate support and therefore began to search for alternative providers of services.[73]

Michael Hill, Zoe Irving, Howard Glennerster and Rodney Lowe all concluded that during the 1960s voluntary organisations perceived a new level of demand and began to take a more prominent role alongside government services in the provision of care.[74] A period of innovation and expansion followed, yet the country still had to contend with growing need, finite resources and bureaucratic disorganisation which resulted in unmet demand.[75] In the 1960s and 1970s governments aimed to clarify the role of philanthropic organisations in the delivery of welfare services. One investigation focused specifically on the role of social workers in providing care. It

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[69] Betty Reyburn, 'Poverty in the Welfare State', *Sunday Telegraph*, 30 July 1967, p. 13.
[70] 'Young Families Below the Poverty Line', *The Times*, 19 December 1966, p. 7; 'The Case of Mrs. Seller', *Daily Mail*, 19 May 1966, p. 1; David McLachlan, 'This is Poverty 1966, *Daily Mail*, 15 June 1966, p. 11.
[71] Derak Fraser, *The Evolution of the British Welfare State* 4th edn. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 293-294.
[72] Geoffrey B. A. M. Finlayson, *Citizen, State, and Social Welfare in Britain 1830-1990* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 305-307.
[73] Finlayson, *Citizen, State, and Social Welfare in Britain*, pp. 305-307.
[74] Michael Hill and Zoe Irving, *Understanding Social Policy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003) p. 178; Howard Glennerster, *Paying for Welfare* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1997) p. 159; Lowe, *The Welfare State in Britain,* pp. 289-90.
[75] SMV's contribution to elderly care will be examined in detail in Chapter Four. Nicholas Deakin, 'Civil Society', in *Companion to Contemporary Britain 1939-2000*, eds. Paul Harrison and Harriet Jones (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), p. 415; Lowe, *The Welfare State in Britain*, pp. 289-90.

concluded in the 1968 Seebohm Report, which stated that scattered local government welfare services should be consolidated into a unified profession of social work.[76] The report recognised that voluntary groups had played and continued to play a role in exposing areas of need not met by statutory welfare.[77] In order to meet such needs the report recommended that 'in certain circumstances, voluntary organisations may act as direct agents of local authority in providing particular services'. The report also recognised that the interaction of voluntary and local authority services could be problematic if the local authority relied too heavily upon voluntary groups and if they, as a result, no longer sought out less visible needs. The Seebohm Report did not envision local authorities or voluntary organisations abandoning their traditional work, but wanted them to interact in such a way as to become more effective:

> The local authority will need to tolerate and use the criticisms made by voluntary organisations.…A certain level of mutual criticisms between local authority and voluntary organisations may be essential if the needs of consumers are to be met more effectively and they are to be protected from the misuse of bureaucratic and professional power in either kind of organisation.[78]

The terminology of the report revealed that over a decade before the 1979-1991 Conservative government championed market forces, the needs of the 'consumer' were already being considered in relation to public services. However, a key difference between Seebohm's recommendations and policy under the later Conservative government was that the Seebohm Report envisioned a system in which local authorities and voluntary organisations shared responsibility for effective, customer-friendly services. The Conservative government preferred to curtail local authority influence, as will be discussed further on in this chapter.

Non-governmental investigations into voluntarism began to emerge shortly after the publication of the Seebohm Report. The policy specialist Stephen Hatch conducted research into voluntary organisations in Britain from 1975-1978 by evaluating their presence in three anonymised cities. He broadly categorised the charities based on the nature of their funding, structure, remuneration for workers and motivations of volunteers.[79] Hatch's work was useful for showcasing a policy specialist's observation of the voluntarism in the welfare system, prior to the retrenchment attempts in the 1980s. He encountered a system which saw national charities succeeding on local levels, while local, grass-roots organisations suffered from turn-over in

[76] Chris Gostick,'Review: Adrian Webb and Gerald Wistow, Social Work, Social Care and Social Planning: The Personal Social Services since Seebohm', *Journal of Social Policy*, 17(2) (1998) pp. 251-252.
[77] Report of the Committee on Local Authority and Allied Personal Social Services, *The Seebohm Report*, Parliamentary Papers, Cmnd 3703, 1968, pp. 152-53.
[78] Report of the Committee on Local Authority and Allied Personal Social Services, Cmnd 3703, pp. 152-53.
[79] Stephen Hatch, *Outside the State: Voluntary Organisations in Three English Towns* (London: Croom Helm, 1980), pp. 35-38.

leadership, inexperienced though well-meaning volunteers, lack of money and competition from other groups.[80] A charity's fate could also be influenced by the local authority to which it belonged – grants were distributed unevenly from one area to another. Despite focusing on three local authorities, Hatch did not investigate individual charities and the circumstances they faced. Instead, his overview concluded that in relation to statutory services, the voluntary sector was 'something more than marginal but less than integral.'[81] Written in the late 1970s, this assertion depicted a welfare system reliant on state, rather than charitable provision. However, just a few years later the Conservative government fiercely pursued its goal of enhancing charitable organisations' contribution to welfare services, thus making them an 'integral' part of the system.

At the same time as Hatch conducted his investigations, voluntary organisations once again came under government scrutiny. In 1978, the Wolfenden Committee reported on its findings into the function of modern charities in the United Kingdom.[82] The report, *The Future of Voluntary Organisations,* found that by the 1970s charities were no longer the paternalistic, middle-class enclaves associated with the Victorian era – as discussed through Daunton's and Bremner's work above – but were oriented around mutual benefit and self-help. It also found that charities had become specialised, secular and politically-minded.[83] Such significant change required the government to take a fresh approach to their role and the Wolfenden Committee advocated for the voluntary sector's continuing presence alongside a government that was limited in the social care provision it could offer due to cost, bureaucracy, and resistance to innovation. The report stated:

> There will be an important role for voluntary organisations that act as alternatives to statutory services…In a number of situations, notably in the residential, domiciliary and day-care fields, voluntary provision does already to some extent and could to greater extent in the future, offer clients or those acting on their behalf, a choice.[84]

The committee placed the service-user at the centre of the discussion, arguing that individuals had a right to a choice. In order to further improve the quality of services, the committee proposed to bring the statutory and the voluntary sectors closer together. The government could compensate for deficiencies in statutory welfare services by complementing and extending the influence of user-friendly voluntary organisations through grants and funding.[85] Both the 1968 Seebohm and

[80] Hatch, *Outside the State*, pp. 129-130, 133-134.
[81] Hatch, *Outside the State*, pp. 138-140.
[82] Report of the Wolfenden Committee, *The Future of Voluntary Organisations* (London: Croom Helm Limited, 1978), pp. 9, 26.
[83] The Wolfenden Report, *The Future of Voluntary Organisations* (York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 1978), pp. 25, 185-88.
[84] Wolfenden Report, *The Future of Voluntary Organisations*, pp. 185-88.
[85] Wolfenden Report, *The Future of Voluntary Organisations*, pp. 26, 28.

1978 Wolfenden reports envisioned the voluntary sector working alongside the state, filling in gaps where its provision was inadequate and supplementing the welfare state's work overall. Their expectations did not match the reality of policy-making in the 1980s, in which the central government attempted to enhance the role of the voluntary sector to the extent that not only philanthropic but *private* organisations became a main, rather than a supplementary provider of welfare services.

Philanthrocapitalism and social entrepreneurialism

In the 1980s welfare state retrenchment policies went beyond increasing the philanthropic sector's role in the provision of welfare services to relying on large-scale philanthropic organisations and the private sector to deliver services in lieu of the state. From the 1980s wealthy individuals and organisations from the private sector began to play a major role in the delivery of welfare services, blurring the boundary between the private, state and philanthropic sectors.[86] How did the government go from hearing the recommendations of the Seebohm and Wolfenden Committees on improving the links between statutory and voluntary organisations to commissioning private businesses to deliver public services? The answer lies in what the historian Andrew Jones referred to as the 1980s Conservative government's neo-liberal individualised and market-driven forms of action.[87] This section focuses on the emergence of a wider culture of accepting private-sector practices and finance (not just within successive governments but amongst the British people) in the provision of welfare services from the 1980s onwards. The concept of private-sector involvement in the delivery of welfare services led to the creation of new terminology, 'philanthrocapitalism' and 'social entrepreneurialism'. By the 2000s both of these concepts were applicable to SMV's philanthropic work and presence in the sector at large.

An example of the shift in popular attitudes to private-sector involvement in philanthropy is found in the 1985 Live Aid concert. The concert offered wealthy and famous musicians the opportunity to offer their time and talent to a public broadcast while the audience donated millions of pounds to famine relief in Ethiopia.[88] Charity concerts might seem ubiquitous, even banal to a society familiar with such fund-raising activities in the 2000s. But at the time Live Aid embodied a shift in the landscape of giving to a 'marketized philanthropy' which involved well-known public figures, corporate sponsorship and the consumption of mass culture.[89] Large-scale corporate and

[86] As mentioned in the introduction, SMV is not a business, but its structure and ethos align it with the culture and mindset of the private sector.
[87] Andrew Jones, 'Band Aid Revisited: Humanitarianism, Consumption, and Philanthropy in the 1980s', *Contemporary British History* (31:2 (2017), p. 191.
[88] Jones, 'Band Aid Revisited', pp. 191, 195-196.
[89] Jones, 'Band Aid Revisited, p. 191.

wealthy individual involvement in charitable initiatives also included a new role in the provision of welfare services beginning in the 1980s and accelerating in the 2000s.

Howard Glennerster found that in 1994 less than 0.5 per cent of corporate income was given to charity.[90] Yet Matthew Bishop and Michael Green discovered that by the early 2000s donations and private-sector involvement in charity was rising. Successful businesses were exploring methods of applying their expertise and resources to charitable projects in a way they felt would result in social and economic improvements.[91] One example of how this was approached was through Social Impact Bonds, an initiative that sought to improve social services and potentially positively impact areas such as childcare, homelessness and youth disorder.[92] The bonds relied on money from private companies who made investments to get improvements underway. As Mildred E. Warner explained, the use of this system allowed the government to save money and transfer the risk to the private sector while still meeting predetermined targets.[93] This kind of specialised giving has also been referred to as philanthrocapitalism by Bishop and Green, a name that highlights businesses' contribution to charitable works.[94]

Another broad concept of private-sector initiatives in the provision of welfare services is referred to as 'social entrepreneurialism' by business researchers. Gladius Kulothungan argued that this term allowed for a scope of application beyond the financial investment of philanthrocapitalism. Social entrepreneurialism applied aspects of innovation, typically associated with business, to social or non-profit activities.[95] James E. Austin's supposition went further, to define social entrepreneurialism as any cross-sector involvement that used private-sector innovation in the creation of social value.[96] Austin's definition allows for a broader scope of philanthropist. Although much of the literature published prior to 2015 focused on involvement from businesses, social entrepreneurialism is not limited to them.[97] Austin offers useful terminology that makes room for other private organisations in the delivery of welfare services. Setting it alongside Siobhan Daly's definition provides the best description of SMV's endeavours:

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[90] Glennerster, *Paying for Welfare,* p. 155.
[91] Matthew Bishop and Michael Green, 'Philanthrocapitalism Rising', *Sociology*, 52:1 (2015), p. 541.
[92] Mildred E. Warner, 'Private Finance for Public Goods: Social Impact Bonds', *Journal of Economic Policy Reform* 16:4, (2013), p. 303.
[93] Susan Raymond, 'A Paradigm Shift in Philanthropy: The Arc of Innovation', *The Index of Global Philanthropy and Remittances 2012*, (Washington DC: Hudson Institute Center for Global Prosperity, 2012), pp. 9-10; Warner, 'Private Finance for Public Goods', pp. 303-304.
[94] Bishop and Green, 'Philanthrocapitalism Rising', p. 541.
[95] Gladius Kulothungan, 'What do we mean by "Social Enterprise"? Defining Social Entrepreneurship' in *Social Entrepreneurship: A Skills Approach* (eds) Robert Gunn and Chris Durkin (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2010) p. 23.
[96] James E. Austin, 'Three Avenues for Social Entrepreneurship Research' in *Social Entrepreneurship* (eds) Johanna Mair, Jeffrey Robinson and Kai Hockerts (Houndsmill Baskingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 22.
[97] Monica Diochan and Alistair R. Anderson, 'Ambivalence and Ambiguity in Social Enterprise: Narratives About Values in Reconciling Purpose and Practices', *International Entrepreneurship and Management Journal* 7:1 (2011) pp. 93-94.

> A close relationship between the philanthropist and those in receipt of support; commitment over a number of years…the provision of non-financial support ranging from consultancy to access to networks; to focus on building the capacity of the organisation and, finally, the implementation of a system of performance measurement.[98]

A suitable description of SMV's philanthropic involvement is found in these definitions: it is a private, philanthropic organisation committed to long-term projects and the application of knowledge and experience rather than financial resources to deliver welfare services, a topic that will be further analysed in Chapters Three through Five.

While society came to rely on private-sector and philanthropic organisations to fund and provide welfare services, a range of people raised objections and questions over the use and prevalence of philanthrocapitalism and social entrepreneurialism in modern England. Despite this uncertainty and opposition to the principle, researchers have a limited understanding of the way in which the private sector influenced the delivery of services 'on the ground'.

Private-sector philanthropy in practice

As it has become common by the twenty-first century for businesspeople and industries to devote resources to charitable engagement through Corporate Social Responsibility and philanthrocapitalism, researchers have begun to study the relationship between management practice and philanthropic initiatives in contemporary society. Some of the issues raised pertained to the recent history of SMV and its philanthropic work. For example, Michael Edwards cautioned against the use of philanthrocapitalism to combat social challenges, particularly international development. He argued that a donor's corporate management background could result in business practices dominating philanthropic endeavours.[99] For instance, the ingrained strategy of a businessperson to generate revenue and show healthy finances and in some cases, expand, might not align with social goals. This tension will be discussed in relation to SMV's involvement with the St Monica Trust in Chapter Five. Furthermore, Edwards protested, philanthrocapitalist intervention could lead to top-down management and impatience for results, which could be problematic for long-term community and social initiatives.[100] Edwards made a valid point. When it comes to delivering welfare services, realistic social aims and outcomes must be struck in balance to business-oriented practice. However, his analysis did not allow for the consideration of complex local circumstances nor the influence of specific private-sector organisations' involvement and

[98] Siobhan Daly, 'Philanthropy, the Big Society and Emerging Philanthropic Relationships in the UK', *Public Management Review*, 13 (2011), p. 1086.
[99] Michael Edwards, 'Why "Philanthrocapitalism" is not the Answer', in *Doing Good or Doing Better: Development Policies in a Globalizing World,* (eds) Monique Kremer, Peter van Lieshout and Robert Went (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), p. 244.
[100] Edwards, 'Why "Philanthrocapitalism" is not the Answer', pp. 244-5.

their outcomes. As we will see with SMV, private-sector influence in public services on a local level is far more complex than sweeping sentiments and national policy give it credit for.

Stephen Brammer, Andrew Millington and Stephen Pavelin also studied the philanthrocapitalist principle, though did not widen our knowledge of the nature of service provided. The three researchers analysed the results of a survey they sent to 245 Financial Times Stock Exchange (FTSE) companies which found their management practices present in charitable work.[101] Brammer et al found that a manager's preferences, or that of top management teams, shaped the nature of the organisation's philanthropic endeavours. Though Brammer et al's piece is useful for offering insight as to how businesses approached the management of their charitable activities it is limited in its scope. The article's evidence is a collection of informal surveys that do not lead to greater understanding of mangers' influence on the aims and actual outcomes of their companies' philanthropic initiatives.

This limitation and gap in historical knowledge extended to a study carried out by Hokyu Hwang and Walter W. Powell. The two researchers evaluated 200 non-profit organisations in San Francisco between 2003-2004 and found business and professional influence to be prevalent in these groups' charitable work; influence that arose from the professionalisation of the non-profit sector as an educated, trained and paid workforce joined it.[102] Another contribution to the rise of corporate cultures within non-profits was the growth of the number of businesspeople entering these organisations for a career change and bringing financial and revenue-generating knowledge with them.[103] Hwang and Powell discovered that the growth of professional practices resulted in less time being spent on innovation and improving charitable aims and outcomes.[104] This study acted as a useful trans-Atlantic corroboration of the tension between the need to financially succeed in business and the importance of delivering charity where and how it is needed. However, neither Brammer et al nor Hwang and Powell's research evaluated actual outcomes nor the need for case-by-case study. A macro-level analysis provided an overview of the prevalence of business practices in the management of philanthropic organisations. It did not coax out subtleties or differing characteristics of charities and their recipients and the ways in which business practices may either be helpful or a hindrance to them. For example, in the case of SMV, financial acumen is an extraordinary asset for running the St Monica Trust's endowment fund. It is less helpful when

[101] Stephen Brammer, Andrew Millington and Stephen Pavelin, 'Is Philanthropy Strategic? An Analysis of the Management of Charitable Giving in Large UK Companies', *Business Ethics: A European Review*, 15:3 (2006) pp. 236-237.
[102] Hokyu Hwang and Walter W. Powell, 'The Rationalization of Charity: The Influences of Professionalism in the Nonprofit Sector', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 52:2 (2009) pp. 268, 273- 274, 277, 286.
[103] Hwang and Powell, 'The Rationalization of Charity', pp. 271-272.
[104] Hwang and Powell, 'The Rationalization of Charity', pp. 289, 291.

attempting to improve standards at an under-performing secondary school. These concepts will be addressed in Chapters Three through Five.

Management practice was not the only area that interested researchers of philanthrocapitalism and social entrepreneurialism. The motivations of these philanthrocapitalists and social entrepreneurs were heavily scrutinised. A third of respondents reported that charitable work was the responsibility of their marketing departments.[105] This allocation of duties could be indicative of businesses' desire to appeal to consumers and acquire a favourable public image. Ilya R.P. Cuypers, Ping-Sheng Koh and Heli Wang suggested that companies who made large donations benefitted from an improved public image and increased interest from investors and clients who regarded them positively due to their involvement in charitable activities.[106] Therefore, donations could have been linked to self-promotion rather than genuine interest in a cause. Iain Hay and Samantha Muller theorised that for some very wealthy donors, philanthropic motives were based on guilt or shame over how the donors earned their money or the amount of their wealth compared to poorer people living in the same city or area. Therefore, donations were made to a specific locality with which philanthropists had a personal connection.[107] Policy researchers Arthur Gautier and Anne-Claire Pache suggested a third kind of motivation, that of community investment. They defined this concept as the funding and implementation of programmes that potentially improved the community in which the organisation was located, raising the quality of the potential workforce, all while creating a positive reputation for the company.[108] SMV has stated that it is committed to improving Bristol's economy via promoting business and encouraging a skilled workforce.[109] Yet it also seeks to benefit from a positive reputation in the city, so a variety of these motivations may be applicable to SMV. Of course, individual members' motivations to support a cause varied and will be examined throughout the dissertation. However, as an organisation, SMV entered the world of social entrepreneurialism wanting to balance business expertise with social care that met users' needs. What else do we know about similar organisations?

Georgina Ferry produced a useful account of one of these organisations, David Sainsbury's Gatsby Foundation in *A Better World in Possible*. Ferry recounted that Sainsbury, via his personal charity, has donated millions of pounds to causes ranging from agricultural to the scientific and educational. Similar to SMV the Gatsby Foundation evolved from responding to appeals for

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[105] Brammer et al, 'Is Philanthropy Strategic?', pp. 239-240, 242.
[106] Ilya R. P. Cuypers, Ping-Sheng Koh and Heli Wang, 'Sincerity in Corporate Philanthropy, Stakeholder Perceptions and Firm Value' in *Organization Science,* 27:1 (2016), pp. 175-176.
[107] Iain Hay and Samantha Muller, 'Questioning Generosity in the Golden Age of Philanthropy: Towards Critical Geographies of Super-Philanthropy', *Progress in Human Geography*, 38:5 (2014), pp. 646-647.
[108] Arthur Gautier and Anne-Claire Pache, 'Research on Corporate Philanthropy: A Review and Assessment', *Journal of Business Ethics*, 126:3 (2013), p. 347.
[109] MH, *Considerations Regarding Education Officer for Society and Education Sub-Committee*, 11 December 2012.

donations to selecting key areas in which it wished to drive improvement forward and focused its resources there.[110] The book highlighted the influential men and women who directed, assisted or impacted projects over the years. As very little modern work has been done on specific philanthropists or organisations, the book had the potential to offer valuable insight into a philanthropic organisation's contribution to welfare services. However, analysis of the Foundation's engagement with policy, the nature of welfare services provided and of the political climate in which to contextualise its work, was negligible. Therefore, the effect the Foundation's work may have had on users and other providers was not examined.

Ferry did not record the circumstances which allowed the Gatsby Foundation to get involved in projects, nor the perspective and perceptions an organisation run by elites brought to its charitable initiatives and its outcomes. *A Better World is Possible* served to highlight the areas in which philanthrocapitalists get involved and the amount of money they can provide to their projects. But it did not address the key issue of the influence of private-sector values on public services, which is central to understanding the complex role philanthropic organisations play within the delivery of welfare services. This thesis seeks to address this knowledge gap. Focused on Bristol this research increases historical knowledge of a local philanthropic actor and its influence on state-maintained services, while demonstrating the significance of the case study approach in an analysis of the shifting boundary between national policymaking and local service provision 'on the ground' over the past forty years.

Conclusion

The chapter above contributes to the history of philanthropy and welfare services, setting the stage for a discussion of welfare state retrenchment and changes within charitable organisations in the following chapters. Notable change came about through the professionalism and managerialism of charitable organisations, a concept that came to shape England's voluntary sector in the years between 1979-2017. In the 1960s and 1970s the welfare state appeared to overshadow voluntary groups for a time but increasing demand and finite resources meant there was a continued need for their services. The Seebohm and Wolfenden committees both recommended integrating aspects of the state with volunteer work but both committees envisioned the state as the chief provider.

However, the Conservative government 1979-1991 sought to make private and philanthropic organisations the main providers of welfare services. In doing so, charities

[110] Georgina Ferry, *A Better World is Possible: The Gatsby Charitable Foundation and Social Progress* (London: Profile Books, 2017), p. 37.

professionalised and developed managerial tendencies, some ultimately withdrawing from direct provision, mimicking the actions of the state before them. Corporations and philanthropic societies seeking longevity, like SMV, operated using under private-sector practices, relying on competition and efficiency to meet goals. Organisations that provided finance for statutory services were labelled as philanthrocapitalist in nature, while those that offered their time and expertise to service delivery came to be known as social entrepreneurs. Philanthropic and private organisations acting in either capacity have become significant providers of public services in England following the state's introduction of welfare state retrenchment policies in the 1980s. From a small-scale Victorian concept of charity to corporate philanthropy, this intersection between the government and the voluntary sphere offers the historian of philanthropic engagement important topics of analysis such as organisations' motives for providing services in lieu of the state and their development from local charitable bodies into large-scale providers of welfare services. The following chapter considers these topics of analysis in a local context by evaluating SMV and its changing character from a gentlemen's dining society in 1975 to 2017 when it had transformed into an active and multi-dimensional philanthropic, yet increasingly professionalised and managerial organisation, conflicted over its role in the direct provision of services.

Chapter Two

'Dragged into the Twenty-first Century': SMV's Evolution from Gentlemen's Club to Social Entrepreneurial Organisation

Introduction

On the 20th of January 1978, SMV Treasurer and member Jack Clarke wrote in his diary of what he felt SMV's contribution to Bristol to be:

> I said that I hoped that we always tried to help the City; I cited entertainment of the Bordeaux Civic Party and others, and I saw fit to instance an approach from [another member] this morning to entertain distinguished foreigners during the City's Wine Festival in July. Was all this useless, unwarranted, unnecessary?[1]

For Clarke, helping the city entailed hosting exclusive social functions for eminent visitors, an indication of the nature of SMV and the activities with which it engaged in the 1970s and 1980s. Using Clarke's uniquely detailed personal diary, oral history and archival resources, this chapter explores SMV's membership, social function and the changing nature of its engagement with philanthropy from 1975-2017. These forty years spanned an era of significant change in England's welfare services, as private and philanthropic organisations came to be ever more visible as providers of education and residential care for the elderly. Successive governments from the 1980s onwards sought to transfer the provision of services to such organisations, but little information is available to historians on what kinds of organisations these were and how they affected the nature of welfare services they provided. Therefore, contributing to the literature on the history of charities, this chapter uncovers the character of one such philanthropic provider of welfare services, SMV, in the twentieth and early twenty-first century, examining the ways in which it developed around changing government policy and expectations.

This chapter also links to other aspects of modern British history as SMV's recent past intertwines with wider cultural and economic changes in the second half of the twentieth century. The post-war decline of manufacturing, the rise of the 'professional' and 'yuppy' as well as aspects of the gender equality movement are all elements of modern British history that shaped SMV over the past forty years and are reflected in its recent initiatives and development. Social and political changes that facilitated the greater integration of public and private sectors from the 1970s onwards are thus necessary to the examination of SMV's recent history, yielding rich examples of the ways in which businessmen and philanthropists interacted with these changes on a practical level.

[1] Bristol has had an association with Bordeaux since the early modern period and the two have been formally twinned since 1997. Merchants' Hall, *Diary of Jack Clarke 1967-1978*, 20 January 1978, p. 262.

In the 1970s SMV was an inward-facing organisation with limited influence in few charitable initiatives and a focus on exclusive social activities. By 2017 a seemingly radical transformation had occurred – SMV had become active in both the provision of education and residential care of the elderly in Bristol. But that change was still gradual. It occurred over the end of the twentieth and beginning of the twenty-first century, a time in which philanthrocapitalism and social entrepreneurialism gained traction in welfare services and began to offer an outlet through which SMV could work. As discussed in the previous chapter, philanthrocapitalism is a form of public-private partnership in which private funds, often from a business are invested in social services. For example, in the 1980s SMV became involved in a philanthrocapitalist endeavour, the Greater Bristol Trust. Reflecting on SMV's history over the past forty years, I argue that SMV's involvement in the Trust acted as a turning point in its history, as it transitioned from an organisation engaged in limited charitable activities to a philanthrocapitalist society in which it committed to providing grants to the Trust over a seventeen-year period. Yet, as we shall see, it was not until the 2000s, following steady governmental consensus on welfare state retrenchment, that SMV became fully involved in social entrepreneurship, as sponsor to two state-maintained secondary schools, six primary schools and as a provider of old age care.[2] Social entrepreneurialism involved more than the financial support associated with philanthrocapitalism. It required the willingness to offer private-sector expertise and the motivation to improve welfare services over an extended period of time. Such a transformation took initiative, required ingenuity, fomented conflict and forced SMV to review its perception of itself and its position within Bristol.

The discussion on SMV's transformation and its intersection with statutory policymaking begins with an account of its origins as well as the nature of membership and priorities in the 1970s and 1980s. It then considers changes in membership and leadership as drivers of change leading to the introduction of new initiatives in the 1990s and 2000s. SMV's participation in philanthrocapitalist and social entrepreneurial activities occurred against a backdrop of resistance to, or uncertainty, over change. An analysis of the reasons behind some members' reluctance to embrace transformation is followed by an account of continuing and new challenges faced by SMV in the twenty-first century. This chapter contributes to contemporary British history and the history of philanthropy by providing greater insight into the nature of non-statutory welfare providers, a group whose visibility has been increasing on the national stage over the last forty years. Understanding SMV itself will allow for greater comprehension of its influence on schools and care homes in later chapters.

[2] In 2016 SMV also opened a secondary academy for students with autism called Venturers' Academy.

The men at Merchants' Hall

Two historians have written substantial accounts of SMV's past, from its origins in 1552 up until the twentieth century. In 1903 John Latimer penned *The Merchant Venturers' Society of Bristol,* a fact-based account of financial reports and transactions.[3] The result was a somewhat banal picture of an organisation that has faced considerable controversy over the centuries, not least due to some members' involvement in the slave trade and the exclusion of women members until the twenty-first century. Latimer's omission of sensitive topics and focus on data rather than people, events and SMV's influence on Bristol, renders his book an incomplete account of SMV's history up until the beginning of the twentieth century.

Patrick McGrath, the next historian to write SMV's history, also relied on transactions and official correspondence as well as Standing Committee minute books to formulate his account of the Society from inception until 1975, in his book *The Merchant Venturers of Bristol*. McGrath commented objectively on the character of SMV and its work over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but shied away from critiquing its actions when he reached the twentieth century.[4] Whether this was due to McGrath's desire to maintain a neutral distance from the Society's more recent affairs or a perception that its involvement (or lack thereof) in Bristol was not a significant area of analysis is not clear. Forty years on, fresh evaluation of SMV is needed, particularly with regards to its provision of elderly care and education which originated early on in SMV's history and has developed and transformed since McGrath's book was published.

An introduction to SMV's membership and activities in the 1970s and 1980s illustrates the social and cultural environment inhabited by these elite businessmen at the start of the period under review. Establishing a sense of SMV's organisational character allows the historian to better comprehend the scale of its transformation by the twenty-first century. Furthermore, this transformation can be placed into the context of wider cultural and political change in Britain over the past forty years.

Although traditional merchant shipping endeavours have long since ceased to be a part of Bristol's life or economy, SMV has maintained a presence in the city, albeit for a long period of time a somewhat extraneous one. And though substantial change occurred within the Society at the end of the twentieth century, its ethos and purpose are still rooted in tradition. Primarily focused on social events with limited engagement in charity between 1975 and 1990, transformation gradually began to occur as new types of members were admitted, first men from

[3] Latimer, *The History of the Society of Merchant Venturers,* p. v.
[4] McGrath, *The Merchant Venturers of Bristol*, pp. 210-213, 375, 485, 513, 515, 520.

professions outside of business and later (though not until 2003) women from a range of influential employment backgrounds. Deeply ingrained preferences of some of SMV's leaders for the continuation of old traditions were overcome as reforming leaders introduced a new leadership structure intended to facilitate fresh ideas and generate new charitable initiatives. Of course, SMV has retained many of its traditions, such as hosting events for other elites, but this aspect of its identity is situated alongside a more recent drive to actively participate in philanthropic work. Numerous opportunities became available to SMV through welfare state retrenchment policies that began under a Conservative government in in 1979, and continued throughout the late 1990s and early 2000s, first under New Labour and then the Coalition government.

In 1975, social events and tradition, rather than philanthropy, ruled SMV's thinking. At that time, SMV's membership comprised fifty businessmen based in or near Bristol, whose fathers or other male relatives had often been members of SMV themselves.[5] Members were 'freemen' of the City of Bristol, meaning they had gained the freedom of the city either through birth, inheritance or by serving a seven-year apprenticeship.[6] SMV's recruitment of freemen reflected its centuries-long engagement with industry and its tradition of admitting men who had familial connections to the Society.[7] One member, Dayrell McArthur, offered an example of the type of network that existed: 'I'm the fourth generation. My father was Master here, my grandfather McArthur and his father-in-law [were members].'[8] He further reflected on his family connections to the Society: 'I mean clearly I got elected because of who my parents were rather than what I was[.]…But in those days, if you were your father's son the chances of you getting in were pretty high.'[9] McArthur added that the other means of nomination was through two large Bristol-based businesses, Imperial Tobacco and Dickinson and Robinson Group, which both employed a number of influential businessmen, the type of men SMV sought for membership. 'Really, you had great difficulty getting in, unless you belonged to one of those.'[10] McArthur's statements depicted an organisation that recruited from a narrow pool, one that was likely to provide an intake of men with similar career backgrounds and perspectives to existing members. Such a recruitment strategy shaped the personality of SMV as a whole.

One way in which to evaluate these beliefs and attitudes of SMV members in the 1970s

[5] MH, BoP 42, *General Meeting*, 27 July 1979, p. 153.
[6] McGrath, *The Merchant Venturers of Bristol,* p. 446.
[7] For more information on this early history see Patrick McGrath, *The Merchant Venturers of Bristol: A history of the Society of Merchant Venturers of the City of Bristol from its Origin to the Present Day* (Bristol: The Society of Merchant Venturers, 1975) and John Latimer, *The History of the Society of Merchant Venturers of the City of Bristol* (Bristol: JW Arrowsmith, 1903).
[8] Dayrell McArthur Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 4 July 2016. McArthur is a fourth-generation member of SMV and was Master from 1989-1990. As such, he has witnessed a lot of changes in SMV over time.
[9] Dayrell McArthur Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 4 July 2016.
[10] Dayrell McArthur Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 4 July 2016.

and 1980s was through the concept of what has become known as the 'organisation man'. William H. Whyte theorised that 'organisation men' followed the ideology of the social ethic; a need to belong that led men from a range of industries and backgrounds to celebrate a collective organisational (work, neighbourhood etc) identity over the individual.[11] Of further relevance to SMV was Michael Roper's interpretation of the organisation man. His research considered the decline of the 'organisation men' following their heyday at the time Whyte was writing in the 1950s. Roper's work coincided with a period of transition in SMV and goes some way to help interpret some members' position on the rise of 'the professional' in the late 1980s and 1990s.

Roper characterised the 'organisation man' as a member of the generation who began their careers in the 1950s and who witnessed the economic shift from family to managerial capitalism.[12] Such men derived notions of self and manhood from:

> [T]he life experiences specific to one generation: being a young soldier in war or national service; learning about industry in "hands-on" fashion through prolonged training; living through the peaks and troughs of the economic cycle from the post-war boom to the decline of manufacturing in the early 1980s.[13]

Roper contended that the time these men spent in the military, whether it was post-war national service or as soldiers or officers in the Second World War, shaped their skills training and approach to management in later life.[14] The 'organisation man' believed his experience set him apart from younger managers: '[b]eneath this view of military service as a form of management education lay a belief among the post-war generation that they were superior men by virtue of their training.'[15] Oral history interviews indicated that there had been a divide in age and experience between members of SMV, possibly attributable to this generational difference. Until the early 1980s 'most of the previous Masters had been involved in the Second World War', which affected that generation 'in quite a big way'.[16] As we will see, the shift from this generation of SMV leaders to men who had not experienced the Second World War becoming Masters, coincided with a time of gradual change and members questioning the role of SMV. Alongside members' experience in family-run businesses, Roper's discussion of the post-war 'organisation man' therefore provides a means of evaluating SMV's membership from 1975-2017 throughout the rest of this chapter, with his reflection on manhood offering another element of analysis.

Reaction against and in favour of changing economic and cultural structures, from manufacturing to the service industries was reflected in tension over SMV membership

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[11] William H. Whyte Jr, *The Organization Man* (London: Lowe and Brydone Ltd, 1959), pp. 45-47, 288, 302-303.
[12] Michael Roper, *Masculinity and the British Organization Man since 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 5.
[13] Roper, *Masculinity and the British Organization Man,* p. 5.
[14] Roper, *Masculinity and the British Organization Man*, pp.111-112, 114-116, 120, 128.
[15] Roper, *Masculinity and the British Organization Man*, p. 112.
[16] Anonymous Interviewee I, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 24 May 2016.

requirements in the 1980s and 1990s. In the latter decade, the masculine nature of SMV was questioned with members beginning to consider the admission of women. Between 1975-2017 SMV members experienced nationwide changes in businesses and economics, politics and in society's expectations of gender relationships. Towards the end of the twentieth century the era of the 'organisation men' was in decline, and men raised under different circumstances and with a different worldview began to join the Society and reflect on its purpose and membership. The following sections address the ways in which SMV members responded to change or fought to maintain the status-quo.

Clothes make the Merchant

One way in which potential resistance to cultural change or preference for familiar ground manifested itself was through SMV's discussions about social occasions. Such activities were a priority for SMV in the 1970s. A 1979 proposal to increase the number of members from fifty to sixty raised concern, the then Treasurer claimed, because expansion would cause difficulty in accommodating the members and their wives in the Hall on Charter Day, SMV's annual celebration of its foundation.[17] A year later the same conversation ensued:

> The Committee recommended that membership should not be increased substantially as this might create problems in not inviting certain existing Members to the Banquet and/or Charter Day.[18]

These discussions revealed that the primary concern raised over expansion revolved around annual social events. Although the repeated raising of the subject suggested that there were members at least mildly interested in expansion, on the whole it did not appear to be a priority. The potential contribution and impact new members might have had on the activities or life of SMV were not chronicled in the minutes, signifying that such points were perhaps not raised, did not generate much discussion or were not deemed worthy of recording. It is evident from the minutes that concern over the number of members surpassing the Hall's seating capacity at a banquet was a continuous and serious preoccupation of the Society in the 1970s.

Discussion of the annual banquet further highlighted the traditional sentiments of some members and the desire for modernisation from others. A 1986 poll on whether to continue with the white tie dress code at the event roused strong opinions from respondents. A repeated comment in favour of white tie was that the dress code marked the occasion as a banquet rather than just a dinner.[19] Passionate defence of white tie appeared in several of the feedback forms with

[17] MH, BoP 42, *Standing Committee*, 22 June 1979, p. 145.
[18] MH, BoP 42, *Development Sub-Committee*, 27 October 1980, p. 219.
[19] MH, Unknown Respondent, *Poll on Dress at the Annual Banquet*, 25 April 1986.

one man declaring that he 'very much hope[s] the Society will *not* join the general *decline* in standards, which seem to be the current trend.'[20] Another member proclaimed that, 'the Society ought to preserve civilised standards.'[21] A third respondent thought moving to black tie would be a 'retrograde move in our history.'[22] For a fourth, wearing white tie was a 'mark of respect' and hiring the ensemble for the banquet 'would be a small price to pay for the honour we confer.'[23] Seeing as how white tie ceased to be the norm for gentlemen's evening wear during the Second World War, the feedback collected in the surveys clearly conveyed the mind-set of tradition-oriented and proud Merchants.[24] However, other responses to the poll indicated that some members desired a change. One wrote that 'the change of dress signals that the Merchants are not buried in the past.'[25] Another used his response form to encourage giving to deserving charities, seeing that as a more important discussion than one of the dress code at an annual event.[26] Nevertheless, the decision to keep white tie passed twenty-nine to nineteen, demonstrating that although some Merchants were in favour of modernisation to some extent, traditionalists ultimately won the day.[27] Furthermore, the tone of the comments in favour of keeping white tie revealed firmly entrenched views that were not easy for reforming members to alter or dismiss. The use of the banquet as a basis for setting membership numbers and the spirited debate over white versus black tie dress code demonstrated SMV's priorities and mentality in the 1970s. In some ways, its embrace of tradition remains – as of 2017 the dress code for the banquet remained white tie. However, by the twenty-first century many more men, and women, with careers outside of family businesses donned their white tie garments for the now bi-annual event than would have seemed possible or desirable to members in the 1970s.[28]

A professional opinion

The responses to the dress code discussed in the previous section and resistance to the idea of adjusting the criteria for new members examined in this section demonstrate a Merchant backlash against growing trends in England's business and social environment at the end of the twentieth century. By the 1990s Britain had experienced dramatic social and economic changes

[20] Respondent's emphasis. MH, Unknown Respondent, *Poll on Dress at the Annual Banquet*, 25 April 1986.
[21] MH, Unknown Respondent, *Poll on Dress at the Annual Banquet*, 25 April 1986.
[22] MH, Unknown Respondent, *Poll on Dress at the Annual Banquet*, 25 April 1986.
[23] MH, Unknown Respondent, *Poll on Dress at the Annual Banquet*, 25 April 1986.
[24] Debrett's, 'White Tie', < https://www.debretts.com/expertise/etiquette/dress-codes/white-tie/> [accessed 30 May 2018].
[25] MH, Unknown Respondent, *Poll on Dress at the Annual Banquet*, 25 April 1986.
[26] MH, Unknown Respondent, *Poll on Dress at the Annual Banquet*, 25 April 1986.
[27] MH, Poll on Dress at the Annual Banquet, 25 April 1986.
[28] Two banquets are now held every year to accommodate the higher numbers of members and their partners. Half attend the Autumn Banquet and the other half the Spring Banquet.

which no longer fitted with the 'organisation man's' view of the world. Family business and manufacturing had declined, service occupations had grown, and women had started to make gains in the workplace. One interviewee reflected on the time:

> Must have changed of course to a degree when the old companies that existed in Bristol evaporated. And the Imperial Tobacco company controlled Bristol. And there were a large number of people in it who were Merchants. Who were from the Imperial Tobacco company. They, of course, didn't continue here because the Imperial Tobacco company moved itself to London and then was taken over by Hanson and was dissipated…Robinson's dispersed. Harvey's evaporated. British Aerospace went. Engineering and workshops that existed in Bristol, people were in control, or had been involved as Merchants, they evaporated. I think it changed completely. But that was a gradual business.[29]

In order to continue recruiting members and maintain its status as an influential local organisation SMV needed to accept and adapt to the rise of new potential leaders including 'professionals', both men and women in Britain's growing wealth-making service sector.

SMV attempted to revisit questions of membership in the late 1980s. Though it was not clear if one individual or a particular group was responsible for it, alterations in admission requirements were in place by 1988. By this time, potential members no longer needed to be freemen of the city.[30] Instead, criteria for admission came to include candidates who had 'achieved or [were] likely to achieve a position of responsibility and importance in the life of the City of Bristol and its neighbourhood.'[31] While this proviso applied to all candidates, an element of tradition remained as 'preference should be given to their [sons of members] admission where two or more candidates are considered to be otherwise of equal merit.'[32] Though SMV had changed its approach to identifying candidates, it did not want to alter its criteria to the point of abandoning tradition. Sons of members were expected to be eligible on their own merit but were given an advantage over other suitable candidates. Once again, this ensured that like-minded men with similar backgrounds to existing members joined the Society. The stipulation further suggested that two new members were unlikely to join together. It was not clear why more than one member was not admitted at a time, but it is likely that SMV was still reluctant to increase its membership too rapidly. This patrimonial approach to identifying candidates for admission continued unabated and by 1996 approximately a third of members had been admitted through this system – nineteen out of sixty-one Merchants were sons of other members.[33]

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[29] Anonymous Interviewee B, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 16 February 2018.
[30] MH, BoP 44, *General Meeting*, 29 July 1988, p. 31.
[31] MH, BoP 44, *General Meeting*, 29 July 1988, p. 31.
[32] MH, BoP 44, *General Meeting*, 29 July 1988, p. 31.
[33] MH, BoP 45, *Standing Committee*, 26 September 1996, p. 112.

Robert Drewett, SMV's Clerk from 1993 onward, described the character of SMV and its membership at the time:

> When I started it was a pretty stuffy establishment. And it was undoubtedly very much the Great and the Good. It has widened its membership a lot[.]…it was very much a clique.[34]

The composition of membership did not start to alter until the turn of the twenty-first century, although the topic was broached much earlier. As British industry shifted away from manufacturing towards the service sector, SMV reconsidered its ability to attract new members. The once dominant generation of 'organisation men' comprised not necessarily of older men, but of longer-serving members was no longer as influential as it had been in the 1970s and early 1980s. Men who had grown up with different experiences and expectations for their careers and themselves were gradually starting to influence the direction of the Society. Certainly, there were exceptions and not every older or long-term member supported the status-quo, just as not every newer or younger member desired change. SMV had long sought influential members of the city to join the organisation and found that, consistent with national trends, England at the end of the twentieth century had seen a surge in the numbers of people employed in professional occupations such as banking, insurance, law, academia, hospitality and real estate. As the Office of National Statistics showed, in 1953 over half the workforce had been employed in industrial production.[35] By 2003, the number had fallen to less than 13 per cent, while over 70 per cent of the workforce was employed in professional services.[36] Such professionals not only wielded influence in Bristol but were perceived by SMV members to be running bigger businesses than those of the old merchant families, perceptions which did not necessarily endear them to some members of SMV.[37] Former Clerk Simon Awdry remembered some of the hostility directed towards the professionals:

> There is a paper somewhere in the archives written by someone who was very rude about bringing people like solicitors [into SMV][.]…I suppose nowadays that distinction is gone. But the idea [was] that it should be a closed society of Bristol businessmen.[38]

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[34] Robert Drewett Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 23 June 2017. Drewett is not a member of SMV but a solicitor who began working with SMV in 1987 and took over as Clerk in 1993.
[35] Rhys Herbert, 'Economic Trends: The First Fifty Years', *Economic Trends 600*, Office for National Statistics (2003) p. 37
[36] Herbert, 'Economic Trends', 37; Clive H. Lee, 'The Service Sector and Economic Growth', *Refresh* 22:1 (1996) p. 6. <http://www.ehs.org.uk/dotAsset/3f718ae6-9981-42da-82d8-fc21f89e58f4.pdf>
[37] MH, BoP 45, *Standing Committee*, 26 April 1996, pp. 89-90; MH, *The Society's Future Role*, 18 July 1986.
[38] Simon Awdry Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 29 July 2016. Awdry worked at a law firm in Bristol which assisted the Society with their estates and agricultural holdings. Awdry first became familiar with the Society as their lawyer in this capacity and later became Clerk. He worked with the Society from the 1970s until 1993 when he retired.

For men intent to carry on a sense of tradition amongst a patrimonial society of business leaders, the idea of expanding to include newcomers without family connections or business knowledge was somewhat unappealing.

Why did some members of SMV resist the inclusion of these new professionals? One reason was potentially cultural. The number of professionals and women rose in the workplace during the 1980s and a new lifestyle associated with the rise of professionalism developed around the 'Big Bang', one of modern Britain's cultural and economic milestones.[39] The 'Big Bang' of 27 October 1986 deregulated Britain's previously aristocratically-controlled stock exchange and banking system which had been in place since 1720.[40] Breaking the cartel and opening the way for foreign investment allowed aspiring people from all social classes to work in the City or to buy shares of privatised companies and trade on the stock market, some becoming wealthy in the process.[41] The group of City traders came to be known in popular culture as or 'yuppies' or 'young, urban, upwardly mobile professionals', a term associated with ostentatious displays of wealth.[42] Though the Big Bang occurred in London, culturally it resonated across the country. For SMV members, belonging to an organisation built on family business, tradition and exclusivity, the rapid rise of the service-sector and the yuppy culture represented a possible threat to their values and social practices. Understanding these cultural changes places members' concerns over dress code and membership into context. In the face of its eroding significance and finding a threat to its accepted social order in the form of yuppies, one can comprehend their desire to cling to and continue practicing long-held traditions and activities.

Certainly, some members were keen to bring professionals on board, as evidenced from the few who were invited to join in the 1990s. However, the amount of time it took to start recruiting professionals demonstrated resistance to change and possible insecurity over how the changes in social and economic structure would affect the composition and life of SMV. One

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[39] Stephen Brooke, 'Living in "New Times": Historicizing 1980s Britain', *History Compass* 12:1 (2014) pp. 23, 24; Florence Sutcliffe-Braithwaite, *Class, Politics, and the Decline of Deference in England, 1968-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 79; Graham Stewart, *BANG! A History of Britain in the 1980s*, (London: Atlantic Books, 2013), pp. 393-395; Richard Vinen, *Thatcher's Britain: The Politics and Social Upheaval of the Thatcher Era* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2009), pp. 181-182, 189-190.

[40] Vinen, *Thatcher's Britain,*182; Andy McSmith, *No Such Thing as Society: A History of Britain in the 1980s*, (London: Constable and Robinson Ltd, 2011), pp. 189-191; Brooke, 'Living in "New Times"', p. 24; Sutcliffe-Braithwaite, *Class, Politics, and the Decline of Deference in England,* p. 150; Amy Edwards, "'Financial Consumerism': Citizenship, Consumerism and Capital Ownership in the 1980s', *Contemporary British History,* 32:2 (2017), pp. 219-221.

[41] Margaret Thatcher, *Speech to Conservative Party*, 10 October 1986, pp. 9-10, 24. < https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/106498> [accessed 20 June 2018]; 'Selling at a discount', *The Times*, 28 October 1982, p. 11. David Childs, *Britain since 1945: A Political History*, 6th edn. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), pp. 244-245; Edwards, "'Financial Consumerism'", 211, 214, 216-17.

[42] Stewart, *BANG!,* 223, 393, 416; McSmith, *No Such Thing as Society*, 204; Sutcliffe-Braithwaite, *Class, Politics, and the Decline of Deference in England,* 79, 108; Richard Woods, 'Some Tippies for the Yuppies', *The Sunday Times*, 14 December 1986; 'Always with us', *Economist,* 21 October 2006, p. 33.

professional recalled his early years in the Society. Francis Greenacre joined SMV in 1995 as one of its first members with a professional background, having been a curator at the Bristol Museum. After he was admitted Greenacre participated in discussions over what it meant to be a Merchant Venturer. He remembered that:

> One of the ones which was important was the word 'risk'. That as a Merchant you took risk. And it was then not unreasonably pointed out that if you were an architect setting up your own company you were taking rather more risk, personal risk than [the] managing Director of Imperial Tobacco who was dealing with somebody else's money.[43]

Greenacre's reminiscence revealed that the Merchants were seeking members who understood 'risk', though initially some of them did not necessarily perceive those with careers in the service sector to be familiar with the concept.[44] Ultimately, SMV decided that both salaried managers and professionals met its membership requirements, though the majority of its members continued to represent the traditional business elite.

Even as admission criteria was updated to reflect the service professional's increased presence in Britain's economy, some ingrained admissions practices remained. For example, even with his background in the arts, Greenacre did not feel that his admission to SMV was particularly radical. It was perhaps unusual, but he believed he had been given an advantage in the fact that (recalling the characteristics of the 'organisation man'), one member 'served under [his] father in the Army, which always helps'.[45] Connections could help professionals gain admission to SMV, just as they could for businessmen. The composition of Britain's workforce altered dramatically over the course of the twentieth century, yet as of 2017, professionals represented a minority, about a quarter, of SMV's members.[46] However, professionals were not the only group to face barriers to admission to SMV: women, excluded from the Society for centuries, were not admitted until after the turn of twenty-first century.

'A woman of sufficient calibre'

Similar to the reluctance of some SMV members to admit professionals, the reticence to invite women to join could have also represented a desire to maintain tradition in the face of

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[43] Francis Greenacre Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 1 May 2018. He is also an art historian, consultant and valuer and has written several publications. He has spent much of his time as a Merchant on the Downs Committee, which works in partnership with the City of Bristol.

[44] The notion of 'risk' described by economic historian Youssef Cassis where an owner of capital gambles on investment and expansion did not preclude service professionals. Youssef Cassis, 'Elites, Entrepreneurs, and British Business in the Twentieth Century' in *Business in Britain in the Twentieth Century: Decline and Renaissance?* ed by Richard Coopey and Peter Lyth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 84

[45] Francis Greenacre Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 1 May 2018.

[46] The Society of Merchant Venturers, 'Our members', (2018) < https://www.merchantventurers.com/who-we-are/members/>

cultural and social change in late-twentieth century England. Until that time, members of SMV were used to occupying a male-only space and adhering to then common norms of socialising. Up until the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act, pubs and restaurants selling alcohol could refuse to serve women or segregate them in their own lounges.[47] Formerly segregated spaces extended to other establishments, particularly in education. The number of independent boys' schools declined in the 1980s as more elite schools began to offer co-education at secondary or sixth-form level. Additionally, university halls of residence and the last all-male Oxbridge colleges began to admit women by the end of the 1980s.[48] At a time when a business culture built around manufacturing and industry was in decline and decades-long social and institutional practices of segregating men and women were abandoned, it is perhaps unsurprising that some Merchant Venturers wanted to preserve these practices, which they saw as fundamental to SMV's character. Members' resistance to change must therefore be placed in the context of wider cultural shifts to understand why traditionalist sentiments and increasingly outdated approaches to socialising and membership continued to prevail in SMV. Some other, younger, members who had been raised during a time of shifting cultural norms, found their worldview at odds with members resistant to change.

SMV first discussed the admission of women at a 1992 Standing Committee meeting. The fact was:

> There was nothing in the Rules and Ordinances to prohibit the admission of ladies, so it was not a question of asking the Hall to amend any existing rule. However, it would not be desirable to ask the Hall for leave to nominate a lady without first having established that such a proposal would be acceptable…the Master asked that for the time being at least, no ladies should be nominated.[49]

While the idea of inviting women to join SMV had been introduced, the Standing Committee was aware that the proposition would need to be discussed amongst all of the members before any prospective names were heard. The initial suggestion was not met with enthusiasm and the postponement of a conversation on the topic suggested that the Master at the time did not wish to raise such a controversial subject within the general membership.

The possibility of inviting women to join the Society was mentioned again two years later during a conversation on membership. Man or woman, professional or businessperson, potential members had to be 'willing to contribute towards the work of the Society at some time during his or her membership.'[50] The minutes continued:

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[47] *Sex Discrimination Act 1975*, p. 20
<https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1975/65/pdfs/ukpga_19750065_en.pdf>
[48] Stewart, *BANG!,* pp. 339-340.
[49] MH, BoP 44, *Standing Committee*, 23 April 1992, p. 257
[50] MH, BoP 44, *Standing Committee*, 21 January 1994, p. 384.

> [R]eference to a candidate being a man or a woman should remain. It was recognised that there would be those in the Hall who might object to this but it was felt that now was an appropriate time to deal with the question as to whether women should be eligible for admission to the Society.[51]

The discussion over guidelines for admission suggested that SMV leaders aimed to recruit different types of people to the Society, such as women and professionals from a variety of backgrounds and with a range of expertise. Motivation for admitting women to the Society was potentially derived from members with different experiences and perspectives from the entrenched SMV ethos. For example, men who supported the admission of women were more likely to have been educated with and worked alongside women than an earlier generation of members. Equally, long-serving members who had long considered altering membership rules might have seen these debates as an opportunity to push for change, a chance that had not previously been available. One interviewee remembered meetings becoming more democratic in the 1990s, with members offered more of an opportunity to state their views: 'Change was in the air. I mean even just little things like the way we sat for meetings…whether questions were asked and whether the whole thing became rather a more relative discussion. Things were getting better.'[52] Motivation could also have stemmed from the fact that SMV was starting to focus more on its engagement in charitable activities: new members would need 'to contribute to the work of the Society'. It is possible that members keen to expand its work saw the admission of women as a vehicle to increasing its charitable engagement. In any case, the proposal did not lead to immediate change and the invitation of women members was again delayed.

What kind of objections did members raise against the potential admission of women? One interviewee recalled a debate on the subject: 'People started saying this is anachronistic, it was a men-only do. And we must do something about it. But nobody really was prepared to.'[53] This interviewee believed that the ambivalence and even opposition from members was on account of the lessening of or alterations to the traditions and culture of SMV that could follow from the admission of women members:

> [M]en behave differently when they are with other men. Some of its laddish stuff like rugby sort of stuff, I don't mean that. This is a sort of more mature, the mahogany and cigar smoking men-only thing. Women, it just isn't appropriate. So I understand that this sort of organisation here, which was very traditional and very pleased with itself, I suppose. For them, it was completely changing the culture once it stopped being a closed shop and only the well-established figures were allowed in. And [if] it stopped being that, then as far as they were concerned it was losing its particular attraction.[54]

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[51] MH, BoP 44, *Standing Committee*, 21 January 1994, p. 385.
[52] Anonymous Interviewee I, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 24 May 2016.
[53] Anonymous Interviewee A, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 9 October 2017.
[54] Anonymous Interviewee A, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 9 October 2017.

From this viewpoint, women would take away from, rather than contribute to the status and conviviality of SMV. Such an opinion was not uncommon in elite men's social spaces in the 1980s and 1990s.[55] Roper argued that 'organisation men', tended to rely on 'historical and social' explanations – such as curriculum in schools, access to a university education, tradition and society's expectation for women to become wives and mothers rather than pursue a career – for why women were excluded from companies and leadership positions within them.[56] Indeed, another barrier to the admission of women to SMV was the belief amongst some members that 'there is not a woman of sufficient calibre to come into the Hall.'[57] This perception was not easily dispelled and years later, after women had joined the Society, some still harboured that sentiment. As one interviewee commented, '[T]o a degree, that feeling still exists'.[58] Change did not come quickly or easily to an organisation with firmly entrenched views on male sociability and female capabilities. Though women gradually became members of SMV, finding women who met the admission criteria and were interested in joining it have posed further challenges.

In 2001, nearly ten years after the idea was first broached, the Standing Committee concluded that 'there was no great rush' to reach a resolution on women members, though it hoped to hold a debate in 2001 or 2002.[59] This laissez-faire approach indicated that although some Merchants were interested in admitting women, it was not a priority for SMV as a whole. The debate occurred a year later in March 2002 when several names for women members were put forward. Finally, decisive action was taken. As established in 1992, SMV's original charter did not prevent women from becoming members. It was fully within SMV's power to admit women, and the Standing Committee unanimously agreed to do so.[60] The same level of consensus was not achieved among the remaining membership although a Hall vote on the admission of women won with thirty-four members in favour and seven opposed.[61] In 2003 Karen Morgan and Gilliam Camm became the first women to join SMV.[62] As of 2017 seven out of seventy-nine members

[55] Tim Heald, *Networks: Who we know and how we use them* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1983), pp.186-191; Barbara Rogers, *Men Only: An Investigation into Men's Organisations* (London: Pandora Press, 1988), pp. 106-109, 119-123, 166-167, 170-171, 174-175, 181-182, 237; Emma Cook, 'Men will be Men on Their Own', *Observer*, 16 February 1995, p. 22; Angela Lambert, 'A Woman's Place is not in the Club', *Independent*, p. 26 June 1991, p. 16; Michael Horsnell, 'The King of Clubs Decides Women don't Suit', *The Times*, 7 July 1992; Lucy Berrington, 'Oxbridge Club Chairman Defends Unequal Rules for Women', *The Times*, 9 February 1995; Victoria McKee, 'Join the Club', *The Times*, 3 January 1990; Stephen Warr, 'Rotary Shuts out Women; Cheltenham Rotary Club', *The Sunday Times,* 2 July 1989.
[56] Roper, *Masculinity and the British Organization Man*, p. 198.
[57] Anonymous Interviewee B, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 16 February 2018.
[58] Anonymous Interviewee B, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 16 February 2018.
[59] MH, BoP 46, *Standing Committee*, 2 March 2001, p. 18.
[60] MH, BoP 46, *Standing Committee*, 22 March 2002, p. 90.
[61] MH, BoP 46, *General Meeting*, 26 July 2002, p. 117.
[62] MH, BoP 46, *General Meeting*, 25 April 2003, p. 173.

were women, demonstrating that a number of women were deemed suitable for membership, though in an organisation dominated for centuries by men, they remained in the minority.[63]

Searching for eligible female members posed its own challenges. Part of the difficulty was on account of the historic lack of women in industry leadership roles. This difficulty was laid bare through SMV's reliance on Imperial Tobacco and Dickson Robinson Group for its recruitment pool: neither of them had women on their governing boards.[64] As it began to look outside of traditional channels for members, in the professions as well as among prominent businesswomen involved in other Bristol-based enterprises, SMV encountered a further unexpected challenge. Some of the women it approached were simply not interested in joining. One woman who declined the invitation reportedly did so by stating that she was not interested in being a part of a 'pompous' men's club.[65] An interviewee remembered how such a response took members aback:

> Whereas for men to be invited to come here was the most, the greatest thing you could possibly hope for, we were a little bit knocked back when we found that for the women it wasn't that at all. Or at least not for some[.]…So we had great difficulty.[66]

SMV's surprise that women did not necessarily feel honoured and ebullient to have been asked to join its ranks highlighted the contrast between the perception members and outsiders had of SMV's standing and reputation in Bristol. As recently as the early 2000s some women with similar career experience to members of SMV viewed it as an uptight male club and therefore unappealing.

Further analysis of the long-drawn out process of the admission of women to the Society showed that SMV's prolonging of the subject was not completely rooted in reluctance. The delay between the first discussion of inviting women to join and their actual nominations could have been a tactical one for proponents of female membership, waiting for more members or new male members to get used to the idea before holding a vote on the subject. For instance, a letter to the Treasurer in 2000 referenced the disparity in goals between the generations of members:

> There is a great difference today in the attitudes of older and younger men. There is a danger that, because its members are mostly elderly, the Society may become out of touch with the rising generation.[67]

In this case the rising generation most likely referred to younger businesspeople and professionals emerging out of the economic changes of the 1980s. The unknown letter-writer believed that a generational gap was responsible for a disparity between the attitudes of older and younger Merchants. All the same, the admission of women did not necessarily divide old and young. Some

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[63] Society of Merchant Venturers, 'Our Members', (2018) <https://www.merchantventurers.com/who-we-are/members/>
[64] Anonymous Interviewee A, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 9 October 2017.
[65] Anonymous Interviewee A, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 9 October 2017.
[66] Anonymous Interviewee A, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 9 October 2017.
[67] MH, *Letter to Hugh Pye*, 30 March 2000.

Merchants were ambivalent towards the whole debate. When asked about the decision to invite women to join SMV one interviewee mentioned it was a while before women started becoming members but they did not reveal any strong feelings for or against their admission to SMV.[68] Rather, the interviewee preferred to discuss a return to family connections within the Society:

> [T]here seem to be fewer direct connections than when I started with the Merchants, there were a number of fathers and sons in [SMV]. But now I can't think of anyone who has either a father or a son in, together.
>
> Interviewer: And that's something you would like to see?
>
> Interviewee: I would, I would. Because it is, I won't say it is a family sort of, company, but I think it is nice to have a tradition going.[69]

The interviewee went on to express support for the entry of members' daughters into SMV as well as sons. This account is noteworthy for the interviewee's desire for a return to tradition without revealing any negative feeling towards the changes that have been made. The interviewee appeared to regard the admission of women as a matter-of-fact. Therefore, this account demonstrates that not every Merchant was involved in, took strong views on, or wanted to reveal their perspective on significant changes within SMV. This interviewee's indifference accords to another aspect of Roper's 'organisation man', that of the men who did not consciously exclude women from organisations. Roper found that for some men familiar with a men-only environment, excluding women from positions of power, 'rarely stems from a coherent strategy.'[70] Such men did not actively seek out women members, nor did they wilfully try to exclude them.

SMV's long-running debate over the admission of female members involved a variety of factors: ambivalence, an interest in maintaining tradition and a desire to move in step with wider social changes. The information collected in the aforementioned interview in particular demonstrated a complex view of support for traditions within a framework of recent changes. The interviewee wanted to see more family members of existing Merchants join SMV but thought they could be either women or men. In this way members did not necessarily take a polarised view on the issue of female membership. Yet the admission of women to SMV does not dismiss the fact that long-standing social perceptions and aversion to new practices may well linger as SMV seeks to build a reputation as a relevant, progressive and influential philanthropic force in the city of Bristol. The debate over female membership represents the process of change and presence of

[68] Anonymous Interviewee J, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 25 April 2018.
[69] Anonymous Interviewee J, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 25 April 2018.
[70] Roper, *Masculinity and the British Organization Man,* pp. 35, 36.

continuity that existed side-by-side as SMV gradually transformed from a gentlemen's club to a relevant social entrepreneurial organisation.

Inside the committee room

It was not only the kind of members admitted to SMV that changed in the 2000s, this decade also saw the transformation of the way in which SMV membership operated. Analysing this process provides further insight into SMV's shift from an inward-looking organisation to an outward-facing philanthropic society, providing welfare services in lieu of the state. A rigid hierarchical leadership structure was replaced by a more dynamic system of leadership, designed to facilitate the introduction of new ideas and initiatives to SMV, ultimately leading to its increased involvement in education and residential care for the elderly. As one member stated, the restructuring of SMV's leadership body, the Standing Committee, 'dragged [SMV] into the twenty-first century.'[71] Reforming the Committee was not a straightforward or simple task. As the above quotation suggests, some members resisted the change, and were 'dragged' along, rather than pioneering change. The implementation of a new structure for the Standing Committee was a result of the hard work and determination of individual Merchants with exceptional leadership abilities.

The first inkling of a desire for change came in the mid-1990s. Then, the Commonalty, or the members not on the Standing Committee, expressed discontent at their perceived lack of influence in SMV's affairs. Their frustration accorded with the notion, discussed in the previous section, that members did not have a chance to participate in meetings nor influence the running of SMV or its work. We can infer from the restructuring of the Standing Committee in the 2000s that members were somewhat dissatisfied with the way the leadership body was run and the power it wielded over the Society's affairs. Some members who were raised in the post-war era, amid a tide of social and cultural changes viewed the culture and work of the Society differently than had members twenty years previously. As a former Clerk reminisced:

> '[Y]ou've always got some people who like to think things are as still as they are and always will be and there were quite a chunk of those, you know older than me. People that then say 'what's all this?' But the younger people are getting in and they are widening the scope of people they are inviting, [they] feel there's a purpose that can be done and it seems to be a good thing'.[72]

Adding to the tension between the Commonalty and the Standing Committee was confusion over how communication between SMV's leaders on the Standing Committee and the Commonalty

[71] Anonymous Interviewee B, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 16 February 2018.
[72] Simon Awdry Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 29 July 2016.

was meant to work.[73] As a result of this tension and the determination of some members to reform the system, the Standing Committee underwent restructuring. However, change did not occur until the early 2000s, years after members first voiced their concerns. Understanding how and why tension mounted over the Standing Committee requires close examination of its history from the 1970s onwards.

A sense of the Standing Committee and its role in SMV over time is gained through analysis of SMV's minute books and one member's diary. Until the early 2000s, every member who went on the Standing Committee ultimately became Master and served on the Committee for over a decade. The time included the years prior to becoming Master and the six years following that.[74] The rigid hierarchy of the Standing Committee and its effect on SMV's ability and interest to engage with external activities was recorded by Jack Clarke, a man who was both a Merchant and the Treasurer of SMV in the 1970s. Inspired by a former Treasurer of the mid-nineteenth century, Clarke wrote a diary for the purpose of recording his tenure as Treasurer and preserving the account for future SMV members.[75] He recorded his activities within SMV in an amusing and candid way, intending for his account to remain closed until long after it was written. The passages quoted in this dissertation are indicative of Clarke's perception of events and offer additional insight into the nature of SMV as a traditionally-minded social organisation. In relation to the Standing Committee, Clarke wrote:

> The [Standing Committee] is a strange body: those ahead of the Chair [Master] do not feel they can press their views too strongly, those furthest distant from the Chair are not zealots because they will be off the Standing Committee before a new project is underway and in the middle is a division of dunderheads or men of ability who are inevitably so involved in their own ploys that the time they can spare for Hall affairs is limited.[76]

According to Clarke, the combination of seasoned but dispassionate past Masters, uncertain newer committee members and (potentially ineffectual) 'dunderheads' as well as busy 'men of ability' led to a lack of engagement from many of the members on the Standing Committee.

Clarke was not the only Merchant to perceive constraints to action and innovation from members of the Standing Committee. Years later the Clerk and another former Treasurer felt that the structure of the Committee had resulted in a leadership body dominated by men averse to progress. Clerk Robert Drewett observed:

> People came on for three years, went Junior Warden, Senior Warden, Master. And then had six years before they fell off the end. So you had a preponderance of past Masters.

[73] MH, BoP 45, *Standing Committee*, 30 May 1996, p. 94.
[74] MH, BoP 45, *Standing Committee*, 5 December 1997, p. 199.
[75] MH, *Diary of Jack Clarke*, Charter Day 1969, p. 2.
[76] MH, *Diary of Jack Clarke,* 19 December 1970, p. 37.

> And that was quite a…negative effect. Because it meant that they weren't necessarily forward-looking.[77]

Richard Morris, a former Treasurer shared a similar observation:

> The Standing Committee was composed, like a lot of the livery companies, as a change-preventative measure[.]… And the Masters, as a rule, general rule of thumb, did not like change[.]…So we realised that we had to change and we had to get rid of the majority of Masters. And we had to, in order to give the Society more opportunities to sort of choose the right Master, bring more people on.[78]

These comments demonstrated that men who worked closely with the Standing Committee but were not themselves members of SMV remembered a leadership body that acted as the barrier to transformation within the organisation.

The fact that the Treasurer is no longer a member of SMV was one significant change made to its leadership structure. In 1992, the first non-Merchant Treasurer was appointed to the Society, placing a more objective influence at the centre of its affairs.[79] Further significant alterations came to the Standing Committee twelve years later. The new leadership structure devised in 2004 involved a reduction in Committee members' term length. It also changed the Committee's composition, allowing members to come on to it more quickly and ensuring that past Masters did not stay on for years after their time as leader had passed. Both Morris and Drewett credited a past Master with reforming the Standing Committee and reducing the number of past Masters in favour of more junior members.[80] Drewett recalled that, 'Louis [Sherwood] was very informed. He radically changed, he pushed through a lot of reform relating to the way in which the Standing Committee operated.'[81] Morris also felt Sherwood was responsible for restructuring the Standing Committee:

> Louis put that through. Without that, I would argue that, conjecture here, that a lot of these things that have happened post that point would not have happened. Because the [Standing Committee] would not have agreed it. Because they were averse to change. In the way they were constituted. That is very, very important and also the ability to get Masters of the right calibre.[82]

Drewett and Morris both believed that the introduction of new ideas and innovation onto the Standing Committee was the result of action taken by one progressive and determined SMV member, who had a reputation for driving through change amidst resistance. Morris further

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[77] Robert Drewett Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 23 June 2017.
[78] Richard Morris Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 17 November 2016. Morris was the Treasurer of the Society from 2003 to 2015 He was not a member of the Society but did participate in all of their projects and initiatives during his time there.
[79] MH, BoP 44, *Standing Committee*, 28 January 1993, p. 305.
[80] MH, BoP 46, *Standing Committee*, 26 March 2004, p. 264.
[81] Robert Drewett Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 23 June 2017.
[82] Richard Morris Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 17 November 2016.

suggested that the new system would be more effective in selecting capable candidates who could lead SMV forward. Indeed, it was because of the leadership and determination of key players such as Sherwood that SMV was able to push through reforms and engage in new philanthropic endeavours.

Members also recalled the efficacy of the restructure. McArthur believed that:

> The Standing Committee is the driving force. Nowadays, you know, since the rules have changed, you now come on, you have a three-year tour. You are on it for three years then you come off, and you do not necessarily have to become Master.[83]

In this way, interested and determined members were able to stand for Master, rather than the Master being selected based on whose turn it was. Though no longer sitting on the Standing Committee for years following their year as Master, past Masters continued to play an important role on the Standing Committee. One interviewee described how past Masters are able to act as a 'brake' on a Master that decides 'a certain course of action, that's either for some good reason isn't going to work…this group will say, 'look this is absolute damn nonsense, we've done it before.'[84] Balanced by both junior members keen to make their mark and experienced leaders who are aware of past events, circumstances and mistakes, the Standing Committee is better placed to lead on SMV's ideas and activities than it was in the late-twentieth century.

New members and a revised leadership scheme facilitated SMV's transformation into a philanthropic organisation capable of providing welfare services in Bristol in the twenty-first century. However, Morris further suggested that the growth of philanthropic opportunities also played a significant role in SMV's transformation:

> Societies and organisations are only as good as their membership. And the membership probably needed some form of reinvigoration[.]…I don't want to cast aspersion on those that have gone before because you know they were motivated by the right things, they just weren't necessarily doing, all the opportunities weren't there.[85]

He saw the expansion of the care home market and the introduction of academies as opportunities that were not available to previous generations of members. It is true that SMV rapidly expanded its philanthropic engagement in education following the introduction of academies in 2000. However, it had chosen not to get involved with the City Technology Colleges, an early iteration of academies. In addition, SMV had outsourced its management responsibilities for the Cote Charity for three decades before it became actively engaged in the provision of residential care for the elderly. On balance, it was the passion and determination of progressive members seeking to

[83] Dayrell McArthur Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 4 July 2016.
[84] Anonymous Interviewee B, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 16 February 2018.
[85] Richard Morris Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 17 November 2016.

expand SMV's contribution to the community that really stimulated SMV's work. Over forty-odd years between 1975-2017, SMV went from dispensing donations to local causes and governing two independent schools to sponsoring two state-maintained secondary schools. It also ran a care home and maintained a lucrative endowment fund for another charity for elderly care. The nature of SMV's changing involvement in philanthropic endeavours and its evolution from small-scale donor to philanthrocapitalist to social entrepreneur will be examined in further detail in the next section.

Viewing national trends in charity through a Bristol lens

In order to grasp fully the scale of change that occurred within SMV between 1975-2017, one must explore its everyday activities as well as its charitable work throughout the period under review. This overview provides insight into the way in which SMV worked and made decisions about its activities. Knowing the intricacies of its structures and ethos helps to assess how a philanthropic organisation with private-sector values approached the delivery of public services after 2000: an important subject to be examined as public-private partnerships have become increasingly prevalent in British society. Bearing this blurring of boundaries in mind, the discussion is framed around the terminology of philanthrocapitalism and social entrepreneurialism, concepts which saw an increasing number of private and philanthropic organisations provide funding for, as well delivering, welfare services at the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first.

Knowing how SMV operated, what kind of person was a member and how its structure and composition of membership ultimately changed, this chapter now moves on to analyse the way in which SMV interacted with charitable initiatives and its relationship to social activities between 1975-2017. Archival sources provide an indication of the way in which A 1973 letter sent by SMV to the Prince of Wales inviting him to become an honorary member offers a snapshot into its character at that time. In the letter, SMV described its voluntary activities as follows:

> To-day, the Society assists from its corporate funds, either by annual subscription or in response to periodic appeals, many charitable objects in the City, and administers those individual charities entrusted to it in the past by their respective founders. Notable amongst these are three Almshouses, a Boys' and a Girls' School, and a Foundation which provides residential and nursing care for upwards of 100 persons suffering from incurable illnesses and helps over 300 annuitants throughout the country who are similarly afflicted to maintain themselves in their own dwellings or in small nursing homes.[86]

The fact that the (accepted) invitation was sent to a member of the Royal Family demonstrated the type of person with whom SMV wanted to associate, in this case as an honorary member. It

[86] MH, BoP 41, *Letter to the Prince of Wales*, 16 October 1973, p. 102.

clearly saw itself as an appropriate charitable organisation for a royal to be affiliated with, suggesting that the Merchants felt they enjoyed a certain level of prestige, not just in Bristol but across England. As far its philanthropic work was concerned, the schools and elderly care mentioned in the missive came to form the bedrock of SMV's much expanded philanthropic work by 2017. Yet in the 1970s SMV operated on a much smaller scale; making donations to local causes formed a substantial part of its charitable engagement.

SMV distributed funds to a variety of Bristol-based charities, groups and projects that appealed to it for support.[87] Apart from the stipulation that funds should be administered to charitable causes within Bristol and without a political agenda, there appeared to be no set criteria for the selection of beneficiaries.[88] Donations were generally less than £500, and went to a range of appeals from churches, to community events, to school sports teams and youth clubs.[89] The disparate donations suggested that SMV did not have a clear or united approach to the kind of charity with which it wanted to engage. SMV member Robert McKinlay recalled SMV's approach to charity prior to the 2000s. 'The ethos was of providing people to energise or carry out good works or to help in charitable works around the city, but not really to do anything as a Society.'[90] Morris, the former Treasurer also described SMV's activities at the end of the twentieth century: 'Kept the ship afloat. But there wasn't any building on the superstructure.'[91] McKinlay's and Morris' observations portrayed SMV as an organisation that brought philanthropists together but did not encourage them to innovate, expand or pursue charitable endeavours as a cohesive organisation. Indeed, it is worth noting that it was not until the 2000s that SMV began to play a significant role in the management of its care home and almshouses, though it governed its two schools (both of them independent until 2008 when one converted into a state-maintained academy) throughout the entire period under review.

In addition to administering funds to local groups and causes, SMV's focus in the 1970s was on the maintenance of the Hall and the socialising that occurred within it. A typical example of the minutes from this period provide a taste of what information was considered noteworthy at meetings. The minutes from 14 April 1978 read:

> It was agreed to make a donation of £60 out of the Assigned Income to the Bristol Community Relations Council to sponsor one girl member of a Bristol West Indian Dance

[87] MH, BoP 41, *Letter to the Prince of Wales*, 16 October 1973, p. 102.
[88] MH, BoP 41, *Standing Committee*, 13 June 1975, p. 199; MH, BoP 41, *Standing Committee*, 25 March 1976, p. 246.
[89] MH, BoP 41, *Standing Committee*, p. 183; MH, BoP 41, *General Meeting*, 31 October 1975, p. 234.; MH, BoP 41, *Standing Committee*, 26 November 1976, p. 284; MH, BoP 41, *Standing Committee*, 13 June 1975, p. 199; MH, BoP 41, *Standing Committee*, 26 November 1976, p. 284.
[90] Robert McKinlay Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 15 February 2017. McKinlay is a long-term member of SMV and a former Chair of Governors for Colston's Girls' School.
[91] Richard Morris Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 17 November 2016.

> team which is about to tour West Germany. Agreed to entertain the captain and three others from the HMS Bristol at a luncheon.[92]

The allocation of charitable funds was discussed alongside an example of the kind of event SMV held at its Hall. Other minutes of similar content were recorded in the late 1970s and 1980s and included events like a wine fair dinner for the Ambassadors of Spain, Portugal and Argentina, entertaining Her Majesty's Judges and hosting high-ranking military officers from the United Kingdom and Europe.[93] The relevance of such leisure activities in modern society was contemplated by Jack Clarke in his diary in 1970:

> Many, many times a year the same old faces foregather to devour much of the same sort of meal in the same attire. Only the venue differs. Sleek, well-satisfied, in many cases smug, what is the justification for preserving so outmoded and archaic a set-up in this democratic and enlightened age?[94]

Initially, it appeared that Clarke had posed himself a searching question about the nature of SMV. However, the idea that he was on the brink of deep introspection was quickly dismissed by his next sentence:

> Of course, I am all for tradition and against change in this respect but, if attacked, who else but themselves would defend this select few about whom only a fractional minority in the outer world has any knowledge?[95]

Clarke's entry revealed that his rumination on the relevance of SMV derived from a desire to defend its members' leisure activities. He was aware of SMV's lack of relevance to the outside world (though he perceived it as ignorance of an exclusive club) and the negative perception it could acquire among such outsiders in an evolving society. Given the aforementioned responses to the dress code poll were collected well over a decade after Clarke recorded this thought, it is probable that his support for the preservation of elite, traditional practices resonated with many other SMV members at the time.

Dinners and social gatherings remained ardently traditional in SMV in the last few decades of the twentieth century; however, its involvement in charitable initiatives took a new direction beginning in the 1980s, though change did not come about easily. An interviewee that was a member in the 1970s recalled that in those days: 'its [SMV's] charity wasn't anything like what it is now. It tended to look inwards so it needed waking up.'[96] Without a renewed sense of purpose, interviewees doubted SMV would have been able to maintain relevance or attract new members,

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[92] MH, BoP 42, *Standing Committee*, 14 April 1978, p. 76.
[93] MH, BoP 42, *Standing Committee*, 20 May 1977, p. 26; MH, BoP 42, *Standing Committee*, 24 April 1980, p. 191; MH, BoP, *Standing Committee*, 27 January 1977, p. 4; MH, BoP 42, *Standing Committee*, 15 July 1977, p. 32.
[94] MH, *Diary of Jack Clarke*, 11 March 1970, p. 5.
[95] MH, *Diary of Jack Clarke*, 11 March 1970, pp. 5-6.
[96] Anonymous Interviewee I, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 24 May 2016.

thus leading to its demise.[97] This interviewee and other members keen to modernise SMV's philanthropic purpose initially faced strong resistance from their more traditional counterparts.

The first notable record questioning SMV's role in charitable activities appeared in the minutes of a general meeting in April 1980. The Master, Malcolm Anson, spoke of a discussion paper (author unknown) sent round to the members:

> It was generally agreed that some dissatisfaction should be felt with the role currently played by the Society[.]…It was also generally agreed that few if any Members of the Hall would have more time to give to the Society's affairs. It was agreed that the Development Sub-Committee should now be invited to consider, in light of these discussions, whether Members should be invited to subscribe for charitable purposes and whether there was some chosen project to which this invitation might be attached[.]…[I]t was agreed that a questionnaire might be circulated to Members on this subject.[98]

The discussion demonstrated that some members were in favour of considering a new approach to SMV's charitable activities, but they did not consider themselves to be in a position to foster substantial change. The question of bringing in new members for the purpose of expanding SMV's charitable work was not raised. As previously discussed, it was evident from other archival records that new members were not sought at this time. Therefore, the unlikelihood of SMV taking on a new project was clear. Still, the discussion and the distribution of the questionnaire – which went as far as soliciting suggestions for specific projects to benefit from SMV's charity – indicated that some members of SMV were open to recommendations on where to concentrate its energy and funds as it had not yet established a sense of modern purpose for itself.

However, the membership as a whole was not greatly interested in re-evaluating SMV's purpose. Returned questionnaires showed that, 'there was no great enthusiasm for a dramatic increase in activity, and the general wish was to give priority to the Society's present obligations so as to maintain the real value of the benefits.'[99] Seeing as how 'present obligations' appeared to have been the random allocation of funds to various charities, as well as participation in social engagements (which were not of a charitable nature) it is worth considering the *lack* of information available in the sources. Archival and oral history sources depicted an organisation that focused its energy on internal, social activities and a leadership committee that made disjointed decisions about how to distribute money to causes that applied for it. Knowing that SMV would eventually lead and extensively contribute to major philanthropic endeavours, it is easy to project current awareness of SMV's capability on past events and conclude that these members did not appear to be living up to their potential. However, it is not clear if they were simply reticent to get more

[97] Richard Morris Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 17 November 2016; Dayrell McArthur Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 4 July 2016; Anonymous Interviewee I, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 24 May 2016.
[98] MH, BoP 42, *General Meeting*, 25 April 1980, p. 194.
[99] MH, BoP 42, *Standing Committee*, 11 July 1980, p. 203.

involved in philanthropy or if they genuinely felt they were already fully engaged in making a contribution. In considering constraints upon members' time, it is impossible to know how many Merchants were still in work or led an active retirement, and as such did not want to compromise on the quality of their contribution due to work commitments or other charitable projects. In addition, in 1980 the Conservative government's retrenchment of the provision of welfare services had not been fully devised, let alone implemented. The government had yet to begin to encourage philanthropic organisations to play a significant role in the provision of education, though it was in the process of facilitating the expansion of private care homes that catered to state-funded elderly people. Therefore, although SMV of the 1980s could have identified numerous charitable projects with which to engage, the expectation and experience of members as to what they might contribute was drastically different to their counterparts in 2017.[100] A political and social culture that supported philanthrocapitalism and the expansion of social entrepreneurialism to the provision of services had yet to be firmly established.

SMV's activities were further questioned in a 1982 debate, two years after SMV had decided not to take on any new projects. The record of the debate included salient remarks made by Charles Clarke, a member passionate about increasing SMV's charitable involvement in Bristol. He had:

> Identified a natural bias within the membership of the Society in favour of the status quo and a preference for duties that were easy to perform. He also warned against being lulled into a false sense of security and hoped the Society would not slide into faded respectability.[101]

In spite of Charles Clarke's implicit admonishment for SMV to find a role for itself, only twelve members supported the creation of a new project.[102] The lack of interest could have been related to members' other obligations, but all the same the vote served to highlight the reluctance of the majority of members to engage with new initiatives.

Over the next four years little changed within SMV's operations apart from the Standing Committee's issuance of new guidelines for allocating its charitable funds. These guidelines highlighted areas of interest to SMV as appeals from education and youth programmes were given special consideration.[103] Then, in 1986, the incumbent Master, Sir John Wills, incited a discussion on the role of the Society. A new sub-committee was appointed to:

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[100] SMV oversaw care homes through the Cote Charity during the 1980 and 1990s though it outsourced their management to a local care organisation. SMV's work in this area will be discussed more fully in Chapter Five.
[101] MH, BoP 42, *General Meeting*, 30 April 1982, p. 300.
[102] MH, BoP 42, *General Meeting*, 30 April 1982, p. 301.
[103] MH, BoP 43, *Standing Committee*, 25 October 1984, p. 120.

> [R]eview the role and functions of the Society in the late twentieth century, including its existing responsibilities, and to consider the adequacy of the Society's leadership and influence in the City of Bristol.[104]

Thus, in 1987 the Standing Committee discussed a paper that 'concluded that a new approach was desirable to give a greater sense of purpose to the Society and increased satisfaction to its Members.'[105] Though the numerous meetings and discussions were focused on an abstract approach rather than direct action, a few members of SMV had, by the mid-1980s, become involved with a new initiative.

In 1986, SMV, led by two members in particular, John Pontin and Sir John Wills, pursued the idea of establishing a community foundation in Bristol.[106] They started by commissioning independent researchers to compile a report of the feasibility of the initiative. Using interviews, group discussions, population statistics and records of appeals, the researchers found that local people viewed the potential foundation of 'an independent body which would co-ordinate fundraising to meet the needs of the local community' positively.[107] This idea eventually resulted in the establishment of the Greater Bristol Trust.

As a grass-roots community-based organisation the Greater Bristol Trust was designed, in the words of its former Director Penny Johnstone, to 'meet the needs that the Government cannot or does not meet.'[108] At a time when the government was introducing welfare state retrenchment policies, community organisations such as the Greater Bristol Trust sought to address local need by identifying grants from new, private sources and distributing them to a variety of charitable endeavours.[109] These ranged from the rehabilitation of run-down areas to access to recreation and sports facilities, assistance for the elderly and disabled children, and initiatives related to job creation, all located within Bristol and the surrounding area.[110] Though SMV commissioned the report that identified support for a community charitable trust, it did not run the project itself. Four individual members acted as Trustees, but as an organisation, SMV's involvement was purely a financial, philanthrocapitalist matter.[111] As discussed in Chapter One, the term philanthrocapitalism emerged early in the twenty-first century to describe large-scale private giving

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[104] MH, BoP 43, *Standing Committee*, 30 January 1986, p. 182.
[105] MH, BoP 43, *Standing Committee*, 20 November 1987, p. 357.
[106] Quartet Community Foundation (QCF), *Quartet Annual Review 2006/2007*, p.4.
[107] QCF, *Interim Report on a Research Study to Assess the Feasibility of Founding a Community Trust in Bristol*, 20 October 1986, p. 2.
[108] QCF, *Greater Bristol Trust Annual Report 1987-1988*.
[109] MH, BoP 43, *Standing Committee*, 24 July 1986, p. 199.
[110] MH, BoP 43, *Standing Committee*, 19 September 1986, p. 204.
[111] Peter Durie, John Pontin, Andrew Reid and Jay Tidmarsh were involved. MH, BoP 43, *Standing Committee*, 27 February 1987, pp. 230-1.

to welfare services (including money earned through capitalist enterprise).[112] As successive governments from the 1980s onwards sought to shift the provision and funding of welfare services to non-statutory providers, philanthrocapitalism represented one approach to finding alternative sources of money.

For three years SMV granted £30,000 per annum to the Trust to meet its core costs.[113] Between 1994 and 2003 SMV gave the Trust a further £20,000 on an annual basis.[114] These donations made SMV's involvement philanthrocapitalist rather than social entrepreneurial in nature as it provided funds to the Trust, but did not shape the delivery of the Trust's charitable services. In 2005, twenty years after SMV became involved with it, the Greater Bristol Trust became the Quartet Community Foundation, reflecting its work in Bristol and the nearby areas of Bath, North and East Somerset, and South Gloucestershire.[115] Over its thirty-year history Quartet has given in total, over £43 million in grants and has affected the lives of over one million people.[116] What began as a small, grass-roots organisation has become a major charitable service in the wider Bristol area. Whilst Quartet developed and expanded during a time of welfare state retrenchment and spending cuts, SMV gradually, in the following decades, began to undergo its own transformation.

Prior to making large annual donations to the Greater Bristol Trust, as it was then known, SMV had operated on an ad-hoc basis, with no clear objective as to where and how it wanted to make a charitable impact. Engagement with the Trust allowed SMV to channel its resources into an area of interest, improving the lives of Bristol's needy and vulnerable residents. In addition, the large-scale, sustained donation indicated a degree of interest among some members of SMV to commit to long-term philanthropic activities. Nevertheless, fifteen years passed between the establishment of the Trust and the point at which SMV began playing a more active role in the delivery of welfare services in Bristol.

In the 1990s SMV considered different roles for itself which included identifying a position of influence within the city or becoming a supporter of economic development and entrepreneurship.[117] The newfound motivation to wield influence and/or support city-wide

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[112] Mildred E. Warner, 'Private Finance for Public Goods: Social Impact Bonds', *Journal of Economic Policy Reform* 16:4, (2013), pp. 303-304; Matthew Bishop and Michael Green, 'Philanthrocapitalism Rising', *Sociology*, 52:1 (2015), p. 541.

[113] QCF, *Quartet Community Foundation Newsletter*, Spring 2007 Issue 3; QCF, *Letter from Simon Awdry to M.H. Read of Greater Bristol Trust*, 11 March 1987.

[114] MH, BoP 44, *Standing Committee*, 25 March 1994, pp. 400-401; MH, BoP 46, *Standing Committee*, 28 March 2003, p. 164.

[115] QCF, *Quartet Community Annual Foundation Review 2011*, p. 14.

[116] QCF, *Quartet Annual Review 2017*, p. 3; QCF, *Quartet Community Foundation Annual Review 2011*, p. 14.

[117] MH, BoP 44, *Standing Committee*, 24 August 1993, pp.357-9; MH, BoP 44, *Standing Committee*, 24 June 1994, p. 422; MH, BoP 45, *Standing Committee*, 29 April 1999, p. 282; MH, BoP 45, *Standing Committee,* 30 September 1999, pp. 311-312.

charitable projects appeared in a letter to the Master in 1999:

> I am sure the Committee is right in wanting evolutionary and revolutionary changes and I support this…Any changes I would wish to implement would be to increase the funds available for charitable giving and to increase the standing of the Merchant Venturers in the City of Bristol. I believe we have an opportunity going into the next millennium to be a considerable force for good within the area of our influence.[118]

The letter writer correctly predicted that SMV could become a major philanthropic contributor to the city of Bristol in the new millennium. Much of its contribution lay in social entrepreneurialism, another term that emerged in relation to twenty-first century philanthropy. It refers to a private enterprise's contribution to social services that goes beyond financial commitment. A social entrepreneur invests time, knowledge and potentially money to a service or organisation. It is a long-term commitment.[119] SMV's social entrepreneurial approach to education and care homes, its influence on these services and challenges it has faced along the way are examined in detail in the following chapters. But before moving on to the case studies it is necessary to explore long-term and unresolved challenges related to SMV's membership and leadership as they will appear in specific contexts at later points throughout the remaining chapters.

Long-standing challenges

By 2017 SMV sponsored two secondary and five primary schools in the state-maintained sector. It was also the manager of an almshouse, the Cote Charity, (a care-home provider) and had the responsibility of running a substantial endowment for the St Monica Trust, another charity providing elderly care in the Bristol area. The growth of SMV's work in education as well as the rapid expansion of the St Monica Trust's care homes was not without its challenges. This section analyses the problems that have arisen and examines them in relation to the chapter themes – membership, leadership and the clash of ideas and opinions amongst members of SMV regarding its charitable activities and purpose.

One significant aspect of SMV's increasing involvement in social entrepreneurialism is the scale of work to be done in relation to the number of members able to do it. The true number of Merchants willing and able to give their time to the academies and the Cote Charity (which includes

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[118] MH, Letter from David M. Telling to Moger Woolley Master, 25 June 1999. Telling was the founder of MITIE and established a charitable trust under his name which supports medical research in and around Bristol. He never served as Master of SMV.

[119] Gladius Kulothungan, 'What do we mean by "Social Enterprise"? Defining Social Entrepreneurship' in *Social Entrepreneurship: A Skills Approach* (eds) Robert Gunn and Chris Durkin (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2010) p. 23; James E. Austin, 'Three Avenues for Social Entrepreneurship Research' in *Social Entrepreneurship* (eds) Johanna Mair, Jeffrey Robinson and Kai Hockerts (Houndsmill Baskingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 22; Siobhan Daly, 'Philanthropy, the Big Society and Emerging Philanthropic Relationships in the UK', *Public Management Review*, 13 (2011), p. 1086.

the almshouse) is lower than the total membership count of eighty. One interviewee described the situation:

> When we talk about eighty members running everything, it's quite an artificial figure there. Because the reality is that the whole place is run not by eighty, but by a third of eighty, really. Because the junior ones don't do much because most of them are fully engaged in running their own businesses. And that's terribly time consuming. And terribly demanding. And then a third of us have been put out to grass.[120]

This interviewee further stated that although some older members continued to volunteer their time, many of them had other charities and activities they wished to pursue in their retirement. After taking account of the fact that not every SMV member is active in its initiatives, the challenge of where to find suitable people to fill different roles across the range of SMV's philanthropic activities came into focus.

The schools were a particular cause for concern when it came to identifying enough people who were willing and able to offer their time as governors. Providing governors for seven schools is challenging, not only because of the number of people required, but because new ones must be recruited every few years. The need for a pool of potential governors contributed to the development of the 'friends of Merchants'. The 'friends' are a group of people that included members' partners and people in the community with whom SMV had connections. It is informal, and no official membership list exists. Its formation was recalled by an interviewee:

> It was to make up for the fact that we needed to provide governors for all these schools, and we couldn't do it from within, and we wanted to tie-in the outsiders as it were but without them becoming members because they wouldn't qualify. So it was a way to give them a sort of status and to make sure that the place is being run by us.[121]

This statement underlines the idea that the number of people required to fulfil SMV's obligations have exceeded the number of available members. The creation of an informal associated organisation highlighted SMV's desire to maintain control over its philanthropic activities, while still offering the 'friends' a certain level of status. In this way membership remained exclusive yet the philanthropic aspect of SMV's work came to include a wider range of people. Further examination will be needed in the future to determine whether the 'friends' have influenced SMV's activities, via an influx of new ideas and members' engagement with different kinds of people, in any way.

The acceleration of activity within SMV has not only affected the ability of the membership to provide enough people to carry out its philanthropic work, it has led to ignorance amongst

[120] Anonymous Interviewee A, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 9 October 2017.
[121] Anonymous Interviewee A, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 9 October 2017.

some members of the philanthropic projects with which SMV is involved. It is difficult for members who are focused on their careers and one or two aspects of SMV's work, or who have retired and spend less time in the Society, to keep abreast of all the changes that have occurred. This ignorance among members intent to bring a sense of purpose and ideas to the Standing Committee resulted in its own set of challenges. A Master may come in with new or reforming ideas that are pursued without regard to the previous Masters' projects or SMV's recent history. At least, it appeared that way to the Clerk. Along with the Treasurer, he was a non-member who maintained his position year after year. Given the continuity of these positions and the fact that they were not members of SMV, the Clerk and the Treasurer were able to offer unique insight into SMV's operations. When it came to the Master and the Standing Committee, the Clerk, Robert Drewett believed the annual turnover and lack of historical understanding amongst the leadership could be problematic:

> But as I sit here as Clerk, you sort of see the same issues come up every ten years or so on a cycle. But you get people coming on who don't actually know much about the background of the Society. So sometimes they can come on with good intentions about how they're going to reform things. But quite often it's because they haven't asked the questions. There is a danger people assume they know the answers.[122]

Drewett's knowledge of the Society's activities and leadership, covering an extended period of time, allowed him to advise the Standing Committee and offer insight into long-standing or re-occurring situations. As a result, a person who played a critical role in SMV's operations was not a member. He was not able to override decisions or pursue any of his own outside charitable interests, but alongside the Treasurer he performed a vital service of exposing members to a history of which they might not be aware, and the previous challenges and courses of action that have occurred.

Still further problems stemmed from SMV's increased involvement in philanthropic activity. The transformation of SMV into a social entrepreneurial organisation does not necessarily mean it overcame stagnation to become a stable, united and purposeful philanthropic body. Some members expressed concern over SMV's rapid rate of expansion. In particular, the acquisition of primary schools led to uncertainty and worry over the clash between business and social provision with one interviewee expressing uneasiness over the rising numbers of primary schools under SMV's management. For this speaker, rather than fulfilling a goal or purpose, the expansion was feeding a desire for power and influence:

[122] Robert Drewett Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 23 June 2017.

> We then started acquiring primary schools which weren't in any way connected and weren't feeders for any of our schools. Now that is what I call megalomania[.]…it may have a business justification, it doesn't have in terms of where our emphasis should be.[123]

This interviewee believed SMV's acquisition of primary schools to be related more to a business mind-set than an established philanthropic vision. For them it was expansion for the sake of increasing influence rather than broadening pupils' educational horizons. This quote demonstrated the disparity in views that can appear between different members over where priorities should lie: in reaching as many people as possible and expanding its operations or focusing resources on one or two endeavours. It was an open question for SMV, and one asked by more than one person.

Another interviewee cast further doubt over SMV's direction and sense of purpose, as of 2017: 'What I also worry about is whether we are trying to find a *raison d'être*, rather than having a *raison d'être*.'[124] This opinion is in sharp contrast to the message SMV strived to convey as an organisation committed to extending high-quality provision to its existing initiatives in education and care for the elderly. This interviewee's perception was of a group struggling to find a purpose while taking on ever more work for itself. The conflict between business and charitable purpose that were raised by the interviewees will be discussed in the following chapters, which offer an in-depth examination of the direction SMV has taken in its philanthropic activities and how its services have performed through statutory inspections and measurements. Chapters Three through Five explore the extent to which members' backgrounds and perspectives influenced the goals and vision they set for themselves and their schools and care homes, as well as the quarrels, confusion and range of outcomes that they encountered along the way.

Conclusion

Local level analysis of national trends in welfare state retrenchment and the accompanying expansion of the private and voluntary sectors from 1975 onwards not only placed SMV's history into a wider context, it contributed to our historical knowledge on charitable organisations themselves. SMV's recent history is consistent with national trends in the diminution of traditions and manufacturing in business, alongside the increasing influence of the voluntary sector. SMV's recent history is a story of transformation told through oral and institutional history, key methodological tools in my research. Using both approaches together, I demonstrated that in 1975 SMV was immersed in tradition and internal affairs while its philanthropic work consisted of making small-scale donations to various causes. It had no clear concept of the role it wanted to play in Bristol. A group of businessmen whose careers were based in industry and family firms,

[123] Anonymous Interviewee A, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 9 October 2017.
[124] Anonymous Interviewee F, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 5 October 2017.

SMV was occasionally at odds with shifting societal norms and expectations, sharing some of the qualities and characteristics of Roper's 'organisation man.' However, the heyday of the organisation man came to a close in the 1980s with broad cultural and economic changes brought about by the City of London's 'Big Bang'. These changes were embodied in the growth of women and men in service professions which occurred alongside changing norms towards gender equality, both of which rendered SMV's traditionalist stance outdated and lacking longevity. Working on a local level examination and using institutional historical records outlines SMV's recent past, intertwining it with broader cultural changes. In addition to re-evaluating its membership criteria to reflect the late twentieth-century economic model and social mood to admit more diverse female and male members from a range of industries, SMV reconsidered its approach to philanthropy and the blurred boundary between the state and civil society. Examination of SMV's change in purpose further contributed to the history of the intersection between the voluntary sector and public services in modern England.

In the 1980s SMV began its transformation into a philanthrocapitalist and then, gradually, in the 2000s, a social entrepreneurial organisation. Facilitating this change was the rise in opportunities for philanthropic provision of welfare services, particularly after the expansion of care homes in the 1980s and the introduction of the academy policy in 2000. By the early twenty-first century this shift, alongside changes to membership had resulted in an SMV significantly different in character to the gentlemen's club of 1975. Oral history interviews were instrumental in revealing that SMV's transformation into a more professional and philanthropically-active organisation could not have happened without strong leadership. The restructuring of the Standing Committee facilitated the introduction of new ideas and approaches as to the direction SMV should take in the twenty-first century.

By 2017, SMV, though a major player in the provision of state-maintained education and residential care of the elderly in Bristol, had retreated from direct provision of care homes services and taken a managerial oversight position in relation to its academies; some members placing responsibly for outcomes onto teachers and Headteachers. For some Merchants, SMV's expansion appeared rooted in a business manoeuvre rather than philanthropic initiative, putting members at risk of losing sight of the purpose and meaning of SMV's work. This revelation was uncovered using my method of combining oral and institutional history. This research model provided a solid foundation for examining the intricacies of national policies set in a local context, namely SMV's influence over two secondary academies, three almshouses, a care home and an endowment trust throughout the remaining chapters of this dissertation.

Chapter Three

'Educational Amateurs' or 'Raising Aspirations'? The Influence of SMV's Private-sector Values on the Ethos of Merchants' Academy, 2004-2017

Introduction

SMV first became involved in state-maintained education in 2004 as part of New Labour's academy initiative. This policy sought to reconfigure the provision of state-maintained education through the adoption of private-sector principles set in motion by the Conservative government of the 1980s. In this way, private-sector and philanthropic organisations became responsible for the delivery of publicly-funded education. SMV, acting in a social entrepreneurial capacity, took over the Bristol local education authority's (LEAs) responsibility for the management and governance of a poorly-performing secondary school in south Bristol. The curtailment of local authority power and the subsequent introduction of SMV's private-sector values into a comprehensive school in a deprived neighbourhood resulted in a cultural clash. SMV was more familiar with private, academic education while the students and staff had more experience with state schooling and vocational options. Analysis of the school (Merchants' Academy) and SMV's role within it from its inception through its first ten years in operation underlines the friction that developed from the differing expectations of recipients of public services and their elite, philanthropic provider.

Academy sponsorship was an entirely new endeavour for SMV: it involved collaboration with the government as well as the challenge of working with a school from its inception. SMV's membership in the early twenty-first century had inherited its two independent schools but Merchants' Academy was a very different school – publicly-funded, free to students and regulated by central government. Merchants' Academy was co-sponsored by the University of Bristol, which brought different expertise and another perspective to sponsorship.[1] Nevertheless, given the thesis' focus on the interaction between public services and private-sector values, this chapter focuses on the role and influence of SMV. As its then Treasurer stated at a 2007 seminar on academy governance – attended by twenty-five academy sponsors and representatives from the Department of Education and Skills – SMV:

[1] SMV originally approached the University in 2004, asking it to work with the Society in an advisory capacity, providing support and advice in educational matters such as curriculum development, teaching and learning outcomes. The University greatly contributed to the academy's development and in 2006 the University and SMV asked Bristol City Council to endorse it as a co-sponsor of the academy. Merchants' Hall, *Academy – General Correspondence*, 'Areas of Potential Involvement of the University of Bristol with Merchants' Academy'; MH, *Community Sub-Committee and WCS Transition*, 'Draft Transition Plan, 20 September 2005, pp. 2-3; MH, *Community Sub-Committee and WCS Transition*, 'Letter from Denis Burn to Dawn Primarolo MP', 2 August 2005; MH, *Education and Curriculum Sub-Committee*, 'The Role of the University of Bristol as Co-Sponsor of Merchants' Academy Withywood', 30 June 2006.

> '[S]ee their schools as businesses – they must be financially viable, produce good results and be competitive with other good schools in the area. As a result the Merchant Venturers stack their governing bodies with people able to run an efficient business, aiming to control the governing body through the members they appoint.'[2]

SMV's private-sector values and approach to the provision of education was clear.

In its entirety, this chapter places academy sponsorship into a historical framework of the retrenchment of statutory provision of welfare services, policies that spanned three governments of differing political orientations. Although the principle behind academies originated in a Conservative government in 1985, the initiative was comprehensively introduced by New Labour in 2000 and expanded under the Conservative and Liberal Democrat Coalition in 2010. Moreover, as the following sections demonstrate, the academy initiative is integral to the history of the convergence between public and private-sector values and practices.

The private sector's increasing influence, 1975-1997

New Labour introduced the academy initiative in 2000 but the foundation for a central government driven education policy had been laid thirty years previously. Roy Lowe and John Davis argued that central government influence in primary and secondary education was precipitated by events occurring in the mid-1970s.[3] One such event was the publication of the 1976 Bennett Report, which criticised progressive education and touted the benefits of traditional and structured teaching. The other was the scandal involving controversial and unorthodox teaching practices at a London primary school called William Tyndale Junior School. Known as the Tyndale Affair, the scandal emerged from the revelation of the school's use of radical pedagogy and child-driven curriculum. However, the significance of the scandal lay in the local authority's lack of accountability for the disorganisation and discontent caused by the school's curriculum and management. Its teachers had operated outside of a system of effective oversight, although the William Tyndale School was part of the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA).[4] Lowe and Davis both believed the Tyndale affair was a key catalyst for the government's increased oversight in education, a centralisation of power that was never to retreat.[5] Lowe succinctly summarised both of their arguments: 'It was probably in 1976 when, for the foreseeable future at least, the freedom of the professionals to pursue their own private debate about the nature and content of

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[2] MH, *Academy – General Correspondence*, 'Sponsors' Seminar on Governance', 19 April 2007, p. 2.
[3] Roy Lowe, *Schooling and Social Change,1964 -1990* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 52, 53.
John Davis, 'The Inner London Education Authority and the Willian Tyndale Junior School Affair', *Oxford Review of Education* 28: 2-3 (2002) pp. 275-276. Roy Lowe, *Schooling and Social Change,1964 -1990* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 52, 53.
[4] 'The Auld Testament', *Economist*, 24 July 1976, pp. 15-16.
[5] Davis, 'The Inner London Education Authority', p. 292.

primary school curricula was decisively blunted.'[6] Brian Simon also regarded the Tyndale affair as a harbinger of change:

> Immense damage had been done to the teaching profession as a whole. Teachers' traditional control of the curriculum – their autonomy – was called into question. Teachers, schools, even local authorities as a whole, must be made "accountable." It was only after the Tyndale affair that the whole "accountability" movement swept the schools and their teachers.[7]

Despite these accounts of the Tyndale Affair as a watershed moment in educational policymaking, the central government did not immediately assert control. It first became more engaged with educational policy through Labour Prime Minister James Callaghan's 'Great Debate.' Announced during a speech in Oxford in 1976, the 'Great Debate' ignited public and political discourse amongst parents, teachers, professional bodies, representatives of higher education, members of industry and the government. Discussions included issues such as curriculum, national examinations, maintenance of standards, attainment and outcomes of the relationship between industry and education.[8] It was the election of a Conservative government led by Margaret Thatcher in 1979 that ultimately resulted in greater central government control of education: over the course of the 1980s it introduced legislation that affected choice, autonomy, accountability and curriculum in schools.

The 1979-1991Conservative government considered parents to be users of educational services, searching for the best schools for their children, and parental choice policies were officially introduced in the 1980 Education Act on this basis. The Act transferred decision-making power over children's placements in schools from LEAs to parents, allowing the latter to request space in their school of choice until it was filled to capacity. Prior to the Act, parents had been restricted by an LEA imposed cap on numbers, designed to distribute students evenly across the local authority.[9] Michael Adler et al argued that proponents of parental choice viewed the Act as a method for parents to avoid what some conservative parents and politicians considered undesirable comprehensive schools.[10] As seen in the Introduction of this dissertation, the debate over selective versus comprehensive schooling had never been resolved, and though Adler et al

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[6] Lowe, *Schooling and Social Change*, p. 52.
[7] Brian Simon, *Education and the Social Order, 1940 -1990* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1991), pp. 444-6.
[8] James Callaghan, 'A Rational Debate Based on the Facts', 18 October 1976, in *Education in England: The History of our Schools*, < http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/speeches/1976ruskin.html; Ian Kendall and David Holloway, 'Educational Policy' in *Public Policy Under Blair* ed. by Stephen P. Savage and Rob Atkinson (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001) p. 156.
[9] HMSO, *Education Act,* 1980, p. 6; Jim Carl, 'Parental Choice as National Policy in England and the United States', in *Comparative Education Review* 38:3 (1994) p. 294.
[10] Michael Adler, Alison Petch and Jack Tweedie, *Parental Choice and Educational Policy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989) pp. 29-30.

viewed parental choice as a further means for the Conservative government to constrain comprehensive education, the scheme had other stated aims. As outlined in the Act, parental choice was intended to serve as a method for school improvement. Parents, or users of services, selected what they believed were the best and most desirable schools for their children. In order to make themselves appealing, schools would have to reach and/or maintain high-quality performance.[11] In 1992, parental choice and competition received further impetus through the Conservative government's (under the leadership of John Major) establishment of school league tables. The intention behind the publication of exam performance was to apply market pressure to LEAs and to facilitate competition between state-maintained schools.[12] Information available to the public broadened after 1992 when the central government established the school inspectorate, Ofsted, and began to publish its reports.[13] Introduced by Conservative governments, league tables, Ofsted inspections and parental choice policies transcended political affiliation as they were adopted by successive Labour and Coalition governments.[14] They were not the only policies to do so.

By 1988 the central government had appointed itself England's leading arbiter of educational provision and devised ways in which to further reduce the powers of LEAs. For example, teachers' control of the curriculum was curtailed through the 1988 Education Reform Act which detailed the government's plans for foundation subjects and national curriculum for state-maintained schools.[15] The government also sought to further reduce LEA influence by supporting devolved management for schools. One route was via the newly established Grant Maintained schools, which were directly funded by central government.[16] Another was through the Local Management of Schools (LMS) scheme. Under LMS schools were allotted greater control over their budgets and their powers of governance were enhanced.[17] More radical was the central government's pilot scheme that not only relieved LEAs of their responsibilities but re-allocated them to philanthropic and private-sector organisations.

In 1985 the then Secretary of State for Education, Kenneth Baker, pioneered the City Technology Colleges (CTCs). Although never established on a widespread scale, CTCs piloted the

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[11] Stewart Ranson, 'The Changing Governance of Education', in *Educational Management Administration and Leadership* 36:2 (2008) p. 202.
[12] Simon Burgess, Deborah Wilson and Jack Worth, 'A Natural Experiment in School Accountability: The Impact of School Performance Information on Pupil Progress', *Journal of Public Economics* 106:1 (2013) pp. 57-58.
[13] Politics.co.uk, 'Ofsted', (2018) http://www.politics.co.uk/reference/ofsted [accessed 2 March 2018]
[14] Sarah Hale, Will Leggett and Luke Martell, *The Third Way and Beyond: Criticisms, Futures and Alternatives* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 66; Geoff Whitty, 'Twenty Years of Progress? English Education Policy 1988 to the Present' in *Educational Management Administration and Leadership* 36:2 (2008) p. 166.
[15] DES, *Education Reform Act,* 1988, p. 2.
[16] Kendall and Holloway, 'Educational Policy', p. 157.
[17] Stephen Ward and Christine Eden, *Key Issues in Education Policy* (London: SAGE, 2009), pp. 20-21; Kendall and Holloway, 'Educational Policy', p. 158.

concept of private-sector sponsorship of state-maintained schools.[18] The fifteen secondary schools that were founded across England under the scheme offered technical and vocational courses to compete against comprehensives and what remained of the tripartite system in inner-city areas across England.[19] Minutes from SMV's Standing Committee in the 1980s indicated that members had been intrigued by the idea of CTCs, but that political turbulence and SMV's lack of commitment to meet the scheme's financial obligations deterred it from seeking sponsorship opportunities.[20] However, nearly twenty years later another opportunity for sponsorship presented itself, this time under Conservative's rival, New Labour. It's 'third way' approach led to the foundation of schools similar in character to CTCs.

Central government consensus

In a speech to the Labour Party Conference in 1996 Tony Blair famously declared 'ask me my three main priorities for government and I tell you: education, education and education.'[21] The mantra followed him into the premiership. In 1997 his government published the White Paper *Excellence in Schools,* which called for a crackdown on underperformance. The intention was 'to create an education service in which every school is either excellent, improving or both.'[22] The path to improvement, the White Paper revealed, lay in the 'third way', New Labour's plan to facilitate social entrepreneurialism in educational initiatives:

> We will be alert to new ways of working with others to raise standards: new forms of Public/Private Partnership; new forms of collaboration between local and central government; new ways of involving parents in education; new relationships between private and state schools; and new ways of involving volunteers and working with voluntary organisations.[23]

The government was committed to pursuing traditional party goals such as introducing social justice and equality to a divided society, but with a 'third way' approach that differed from previous Labour government policymaking.[24] New Labour sought solutions that went beyond traditional

[18] Simon, *Education and the Social Order,* p. 531.
[19] Sharon Gerwitz, Geoff Whitty and Tony Edwards, 'City Technology Colleges: Schooling for the Thatcher Generation?' *British Journal of Educational Studies* 40:3 (1992) pp. 207, 209; Geoffrey Walford, 'From City Technology Colleges to Sponsored Grant-Maintained Schools'*, Oxford Review of Education* 26:2 (2000) p. 146; Simon, *Education and the Social Order,* p. 531.
[20] MH, BoP 43, *Standing Committee*, 26 June 1987, p. 246.
[21] Speech Archive, *Leader's Speech, Blackpool, 1996*. (2018) < http://www.britishpoliticalspeech.org/speech-archive.htm?speech=202>
[22] Department for Education and Employment, *Excellence in Schools*, 1997, p. 12.
[23] DfEE, *Excellence in Schools*, 1997, p. 12.
[24] Martin Powell, 'New Labour and the Third Way in the British Welfare State: a new and distinctive approach?', in *Critical Social Policy* 20:1 (2000), pp. 53, 56-57.

social democratic ideology, embracing concepts associated with consumerism and social entrepreneurialism.[25]

Conservative policies such as parental choice, league table publication, performance testing and support of increased independence for state-maintained schools continued under New Labour.[26] These policies aimed to improve standards and the government supported them as, New Labour stated in its manifesto, 'what counts is what works.'[27] In a striking departure from Labour party policy in the 1970s and 1980s, New Labour considered solutions under a new 'politics of pragmatism', for their potential impact and effectiveness rather than their ideological origin. New Labour's continuation of education policies set in place by two Conservative governments represented a political consensus between the Labour and Conservative parties. This tacit agreement over educational policy resulted in competition and private-sector involvement becoming entrenched in modern approaches to the provision of education.

Academies epitomised this consensus and the blurred boundary between public and private sectors. Introduced by New Labour academies featured aspects of earlier Conservative policy. They were designed as an alternative to LEA schools, operating autonomously and receiving funding directly from the central government, a similar concept to LMS.[28] Additionally, academies followed the public-private partnership model introduced through the CTCs, though the purpose behind city academies and CTCs differed. Academies were intended to raise the performance of failing comprehensive schools in urban areas as opposed to providing a limited number of vocational secondary schools.[29] David Blunkett, the Secretary of State for Education and Employment in 2000, announced that these urban schools would 'replace seriously failing schools, will be established by partnerships involving the government, and voluntary sector, church and business sponsors.'[30] Such partnerships were indicative of the third way and offered opportunities for social entrepreneurs from a variety of backgrounds to influence standards and quality of schooling.[31]

As suggested in Blunkett's announcement, New Labour sought to capitalize on the

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[25] Sally Tomlinson, 'New Labour and Education', in *Children and Society* 17:1 (2003), pp. 195-196.
[26] Anthony Heath, Alice Sullivan, Vikki Boliver and Anna Zimdars, 'Education Under New Labour, 1997-2010', in *Oxford Review of Educational Policy* 29:1 (2013) pp. 228, 232.
[27] *New Labour Because Britain Deserves Better*, Labour Party Manifesto, 1997. < http://www.labour-party.org.uk/manifestos/1997/1997-labour-manifesto.shtml>
[28] Ken Jones, *Education in Britain: 1944 to the Present*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003), p. 134.
[29]Andrew Adonis, *Education, Education, Education: Reforming England's Schools,* (London: Biteback Publications, 2012), pp. 56-58.
[30] David Blunkett, *Speech to Social Market Foundation*, 15 March 2000, quoted in Department for Education and Employment, *City Academies: Schools to Make a Difference: A Prospectus for Sponsors and Other Partners*, pp. 4,8. < http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/3000/1/City_academies_-_schools_to_make_a_difference_(July_2000).pdf>
[31] Laura Fenwick-Sehl, 'Lessons from Elsewhere? The Evolution of the Labour Academy School Concept, 1997-2010', *Research in Comparative and International Education* 8:2 (2013) p. 180.

abilities, external funds and knowledge of traditional charities, industrial and provident societies as well companies limited by guarantee.[32] The academy initiative directly involved such philanthropic and private-sector organisations in schools and encouraged them to implement a fresh approach to their academy's ethos and governance. Therefore, the central government's allocation of responsibility for the character and management of schools to private and philanthropic groups made the academy policy a social entrepreneurial initiative as it facilitated the transfer of privately held knowledge and skills to a welfare service.

The architect of the academy initiative, Andrew Adonis, believed that philanthropic organisations, like SMV, and private companies acting in a social entrepreneurial capacity had a strong chance of succeeding as school sponsors as they operated outside of educational bureaucracies. Further, such organisations could make long-term commitments and be held accountable to them, unlike LEA Chief Educational Officers whom he regarded as 'here today, gone tomorrow'.[33] Sponsors were encouraged to incorporate their unique and innovative perspectives into strong leadership and governing principles in their inner-city academies.[34] The Education Act 2002 provided additional opportunities for private and philanthropic sponsors to get involved with academies as the scheme extended to include any failing (primary or secondary) school in any urban or rural locality.[35]

Eight years later and under a Coalition government formed of Liberal Democrats and Conservatives, the programme expanded once again. Following the Academies Act 2010, all high-performing state-maintained schools had the option of converting to academy status, (with those rated as outstanding by Ofsted put on a fast track).[36] The Act allowed schools to gain autonomy from local authorities and to receive their funding, including the share local government previously spent on their behalf, directly into the school's accounts.[37] Therefore, upon conversion, a school's budget increased. This practice underscored the academy policy as one of welfare state retrenchment in which responsibility for the provision of services was shifted, as opposed to a

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[32] Martin Powell, 'New Labour and the Third Way in the British Welfare State: A New and Distinctive Approach?', *Critical Social Policy* 20:1 (2000) p. 42; Helen Haugh and Michael Kitson, 'The Third Way and the Third Sector: New Labour's Economic Policy and the Social Economy' *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 31:1 (2007) pp. 974-975; Peter Alcock, 'Voluntary Action, New Labour and the 'Third Sector', in Matthew Hilton and James McKay (eds). *The Ages of Voluntarism: How we got to the Big Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 159; Tania Burchardt and John Hills, 'Public expenditure and the public/private mix' in *New Labour, New Welfare State? The 'Third Way in British Social Policy',* (Bristol: Policy, 1999), pp. 41-45.

[33] Adonis, *Education, Education, Education,* p. 56.

[34] Blunkett, *Speech to Social Market Foundation*, pp. 4,8.

[35] Teachernet, 'Main provisions of the Education Act 2002, Sections 65-69' (2006) < http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20061009092805/teachernet.gov.uk/educationoverview/briefing/educationact/summary/>

[36] DfE, *Academies Act 2010*, p. 3; DfEE, *Education Act 2002*, Part 5.

[37] DfE, *The Importance of Teaching: The Schools White Paper 2010,* Cm 7980 (London: DfE, 2010), pp. 52, 54.

policy of financial retrenchment. Following the austerity measures of the Coalition government in 2010 the number of academies rapidly increased.[38] In May that year there were 200 academies compared to March 2015 when the number had risen to 4,500.[39] Such rapid expansion was reflected in Bristol, where nearly every state-maintained secondary school had gained academy status by the mid-2010s.[40]

In addition to expanding the academies programme, the Coalition government established other forms of schooling that utilised the knowledge and resources of private and voluntary-sector organisations. In 2011, the first free schools opened. These schools are academies by law, but instead of taking over a predecessor school, free schools are entirely new, and intended to be founded by teachers, parents and/or charities to meet the particular needs of a community and its students.[41] The Coalition government also significantly expanded business-related education through studio schools, which were designed for students between fourteen and nineteen years of age. These Studio Schools reflected the world of work as students participated in extended placements and attended school on a nine-to-five schedule.[42] Another new type of school, the University Technical Colleges were sponsored by both universities and employers and provided technical and work-related learning alongside traditional courses.[43]

The Coalition government's educational policies involved similar elements to those of New Labour, which had continued policies begun under a Conservative government. However, consensus bridged not only these three consecutive governments of differing political ideologies but their predecessors in the twentieth century. For example, the Coalition government's expansion of free, independently-managed schooling signalled a further move away from local authority provision, which had long been a goal of Conservative politicians.[44] Paradoxically, the LEA's reduced influence over schools benefitted Labour as well, by allowing the party to achieve its long-standing goal of bringing independent providers into the state sector, an aspect of

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[38] Anne West and Elizabeth Bailey, 'The Development of Academies Programme: "Privatising" School-Based Education in England 1986-2013', *British Journal of Educational Studies* 61:2 (2013) p. 139.
[39] UK Parliament, 'Academies and Free Schools: Key Issues for the 2015 Parliament', 2015 <https://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/research/key-issues-parliament-2015/education/academies-and-free-schools/>
[40] DfE, *School and College Performance Tables Bristol*, (2002 –2014) <http://www.education.gov.uk/cgibin/schools/performance/2014/group.pl?qtype=LA&superview=sec&view=aat&set=1&sort=&ord=&tab=149&no=801&pg
[41] DfE, *2010 to 2015 Government Policy: Academies and Free Schools*, 8 May 2015 <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/2010-to-2015-government-policy-academies-and-free-schools/2010-to-2015-government-policy-academies-and-free-schools>
[42] DfE, *Positive for Youth*, 2011, pp. 25-26; Rachel Brooks, 'The Social Construction of Young People Within Education Policy: Evidence from the UK's Coalition Government', *Journal of Youth Studies* 16: 3 (2013), p. 322.
[43] DfE, *2010 to 2015 Government Policy: Academies and Free Schools*, 2015 <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/2010-to-2015-government-policy-academies-and-free-schools/2010-to-2015-government-policy-academies-and-free-schools>
[44] Simon, *Education and the Social Order,* p. 534.

academisation discussed further on in Chapter Four. In short, the academies initiative changed the face of England's state-maintained educational system by entrusting private-sector organisations and philanthropic groups with the management of secondary education.[45] Although the leading political parties largely achieved policy consensus relating to academies, their position among parents, educationalists and politicians outside of the policy-making apparatus remained variable.

Discord and debate

The academy policy may have achieved consensus among Britain's governing parties between 2000-2017, but it remained a topic of debate amongst researchers, journalists, academics and educationalists. Their arguments against academies ranged from emotionally and politically-charged observations to seemingly clear-cut numerical data, but neither qualitative nor quantitative research was free from contention. For instance, Richard Garner raised his 2004 query, 'Should these people be running state schools?' in the *Independent*.[46] Admitting that there was no firm evidence of the performance of academies at that time, (the earliest academies had only been in operation for a couple of years) Garner's article was largely a sentimental appeal against private-sector involvement in educational provision. Several academics shared his aversion. In the same year Garner's article was printed, both Sally Tomlinson and Jenny Slater raised concerns over private-sector organisations' engagement with schools. For Tomlinson, the academy policy promoted business, enterprise and competition at the expense of democracy, while Slater argued that academies excluded difficult children and those with special needs in order to improve their results.[47] Neither Tomlinson's nor Slater's claims could be verified through academic research at the time that they were made and further information was needed before research could begin to draw conclusions.

Ten years after the introduction of academies, researchers began to analyse academy performance based on data that had amassed over the previous decade. In 2011, Stephen Gorad evaluated early academies' examination and intake information, surmising that the success the academy programme had seen was 'insubstantial' and that there was no clear evidence they had produced better results than their predecessor schools.[48] However, despite the quantitative nature of his research, Gorad's methods and results were not indisputable. Elizabeth Leo, David Galloway and Phil Hearne's 2010 book, *Academies and Educational Reform* challenged the use and

[45] Walford, 'From City Technology Colleges', 146-47; Clyde Chitty, 'The Role and Status of LEAs: Post-war Pride and Fin de Siècle Uncertainty', *Oxford Review of Education* 28:2-3 (2002) pp. 266-67.
[46] Richard Garner, 'Should These People be Running State Schools?', *Independent,* 8 July 2004, p. 1.
[47] Jenny Slater, 'Special Needs Pupils Barred', in *Times Educational Supplement*, 10 December 2004; Sally Tomlinson, *Education in a Post-Welfare Society* (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2005), p. 222.
[48] Stephen Gorad, 'Are Academies Working?', in *The State and Education Policy: The Academies Programme*, ed. by Helen M. Gunter (London: Continuum, 2011) pp. 120, 131.

presentation of statistical data in research about academies, finding that it was possible for information, particularly that pertaining to the inclusion of children with special needs and on free school meals, to be misrepresented.[49] For example, an opposing view to that of Gorad was produced through research undertaken at PriceWaterhouseCoopers between 2002 and 2008. Its findings suggested that the first twenty-seven academies had improved results at poorly-performing schools that served students with disadvantaged backgrounds.[50] Using this data, Larsen et al argued that attainment at the twenty-seven academies had increased favourably against comparison schools and the average for England over the time span studied.[51] The difference in conclusion drawn by Gorad and Larsen et al demonstrated the differing way data could be used to represent academy performance. But numerical analysis is not the only way to conduct research into academies and their sponsors' influence on children's education.

Qualitative research on the role of private-sector sponsors of academies is insubstantial. As Christopher Green wrote, '[t]here is a lack of research on the impact of privatization and the range of so-called partnerships in education.'[52] Green's own book, *Privatisation of State Education: Public Partners, Private Dealings*, highlighted a few case studies of early academies but the piece was centred around his own experience as a Chief Education Officer in Walsall in the early 2000s. As he was part of the LEA, Green's discussion focused on the role of the public-sector provider and did not expand to include an examination of private-sector providers and their delivery of services in individual schools.

The research that has been carried out on private-sector providers often neglects to fully examine the complexity of the academy system. Helen Gunter, Philip Woods and Glenys Woods published a detailed list of topics of inquiry and discussion into the emerging academy policy in 2008, including questions about the interplay between private and public-sector values.[53] Although the authors raised important questions and championed the value of using a case study approach, they led a seminar on these topics from an ideological position: 'A range of identities were exhibited in the seminar, from those who espoused neutrality through to those who are members of the anti-academies alliance.'[54] By the authors' own admission then, proponents of the policy

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[49] Elizabeth Leo, David Galloway and Phil Hearne, *Academies and Educational Reform: Governance, Leadership and Strategy* (Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 2010), p. 35.
[50] Judy Larsen, Valerie Bunting and David Armstrong, 'What Works? An Empirical Assessment of Strengths, Weaknesses and Next Steps for the Academies Initiative' in *The State and Education Policy: The Academies Programme*, ed. by Helen M Gunter (London: Continuum, 2011) pp. 105-106.
[51] Larsen et al, 'What Works?', pp. 108-110.
[52] Christopher Green, *The Privatisation of State Education: Public Partners, Private Dealings* (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 85.
[53] Helen Gunter, Philip Woods and Glenys Woods, 'Researching Academies in England', *Management in Education*, 22:4 (2008), p. 4.
[54] Gunter et al, 'Researching Academies in England', p. 5.

were not in attendance, potentially restricting the scope of research and viewpoints presented. In addition, Gunter et al's 2007 article used secondary data to examine 58 academies that opened before 2008 with specialisms in entrepreneurialism.[55] The authors expressed valid concerns about the demographics of the sponsors of such academies (they found many were male and Christian) and the translation of their world views into classrooms.[56] However, without interrogating the ways in which sponsors influenced their schools in practice, the piece remained theoretical in nature, rather than evidence based.

Other researchers also raised concerns about the background of academy sponsors without fully investigating their actual influence on schools through ethos and curriculum.
In their article on philanthropy and education policy, Stephen Ball and Carolina Junneman looked at the links between corporate philanthropy and school improvement initiatives. They provided an overview rather than in-depth analysis of a number of corporations such as KMPG and HSBC that got involved in sponsoring grants and funding enterprise programmes.[57] Ball and Junemann observed the complex process that brought philanthropists and education together but took philanthropists' broad statements of vision at face value and did not interrogate or analyse how that vision or partnership translated into practice at schools.[58] Similarly, Rob Higham wrote about corporate elites in free schools, and their pursuit of 'their own self-interests' but did not provide examples or cite evidence on how this played out within specific schools' curriculum, ethos or attainment.[59] Given the above examples one can conclude that much of the available research on academies is speculative and angled towards sector-wide generalisation rather than that of individual schools.

An example of case study research into academies was conducted by Mark A. Pike on the Trinity Academy in Yorkshire. Pike's 2007-2008 study responded to public and political concerns over the beliefs and values of private, business-oriented academy sponsors and whether or not their influence was in the best interest of students.[60] Specifically, he examined the impact of Sir Peter Vardy's 2005 takeover of a failing secondary school near Doncaster. Basing his conclusions on information gleaned from interviews with staff, sponsor and students, Pike found that Vardy's

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[55] Philip A. Woods, Glenys J. Woods, and Helen Gunter, 'Academy Schools and Entrepreneurialism in Education', *Journal of Education Policy*, 22:2 (2007) pp. 243-244.
[56] Woods et al, 'Academy Schools and Entrepreneurialism', pp. 238, 240-242, 250, 254.
[57] Stephen J. Ball and Carolina Junemann, 'Education Policy and Philanthropy – The Changing Landscape of English Educational Governance', *International Journal of Public Administration* 34:10 (2011) pp. 648, 651, 653, 656.
[58] Ball and Junemann, 'Education Policy and Philanthropy', pp. 655, 657, 659.
[59] Rob Higham, 'The Usual Suspects? Free Schools in England and the Influence of Corporate Elites' in *Corporate Elites and the Reform of Public Education* ed by Helen M. Gunter, David Hall, and Michael W. Apple, (Bristol: Policy Press, 2017), pp. 207, 210.
[60] Mark A. Pike, 'Transaction and transformation at Trinity: Private Sponsorship, Core Values and Christian Ethos at England's Most Improved Academy', *Oxford Review of Education* 36:6 (2010) p. 750.

workplace values influenced the Christian ethos at Trinity Academy, though this was done in a positive and secular way.[61] Pike argued the academy's improvement was due in part to a strong ethos and value system that was borne out in teaching and curriculum at the school. Given that the reader only saw the quotations and interview extracts Pike selected for his paper, it is hard to ascertain if there were any elements of discord. Nevertheless, his examination revealed the varied and complex layers that make up the fabric of academy sponsorship. Much more research of this kind is needed to broaden historians' understanding of the blurred boundary between public and private-sector values that exists in some academies.

Bristol's under-performing schools

How were local authorities and schools within them selected for academisation? This section's examination of Bristol LEA's recent history highlights the circumstances that paved the way for the introduction of academies in the city. In the 1990s Bristol's local authority oversaw the type of institutions New Labour sought to improve or eliminate, that is, under-performing inner-city schools.[62] Bristol's secondary schools had long faced a stigma associated with secondary modern schools and comprehensive education in the city. By the turn of the twenty-first century the community's lack of confidence in maintained secondary schools had become apparent through the presence of numerous independent schools in the city.[63] At that time Bristol possessed the largest number of independent schools in a local authority outside of London. The stigma and negative perceptions towards state-maintained schooling were not unfounded. In 1999, a year before the New Labour government introduced the academies programme, Ofsted placed Bristol's state-maintained schools in the bottom five per cent for attainment in England.[64] In 2000, the *Bristol Evening Post* reported that the Bristol LEA was ranked 143rd out of 150 LEAs in England.[65] Exam scores highlighted the difference in attainment between Bristol and neighbouring LEAs. In 1999, pupils in Bristol's maintained schools gained 31 per cent of the required GCSEs.[66] The average for the neighbouring North Somerset Authority was 52 per cent with one school achieving

[61] Pike, 'Transaction and transformation at Trinity', pp. 752, 754-55, 758.
[62] Adonis, *Education, Education, Education,* pp. 56-58.
[63] Katherine Rich, 'A Study in Failure? The Development of Comprehensive Education in Bristol, 1963 – 1976,' (unpublished MA thesis, University of Bristol, 2007), pp. 24, 42, 43; Christine Lewis, 'City School Places in Big Demand; More Parents Choosing Bristol for Education', *Bristol Evening Post*, 12 February 1999, p. 29.
[64] Ofsted, 'Inspection of Bristol Local Education Authority', HMSO 1999, p. 6.
[65] Michael Shaw, 'TOP CLASS!; Tears of Joy as City's GCSE Pupils Produce Another Bumper Crop of Examination Results', *Bristol Evening Post*, 24 August 2001, p. 40.
[66] Department for Education, *School Performance Tables* (1999) http://www.education.gov.uk/cgi-bin/schools/performance/archive/shlea1_99?lea=801&type=b; Department for Education, *School Performance Tables* (1999) http://www.education.gov.uk/cgi-bin/schools/performance/archive/shlea1_99?lea=801&type=b>.

75 per cent.[67] In general, the schools located immediately outside of Bristol in Gloucester and East Somerset achieved or surpassed England's examination average of 58 per cent.[68] The discrepancy demonstrated significant underperformance in Bristol schools, the improvement of which was a priority for New Labour.

The government was only one of many groups interested in improving failing schools in Bristol. Many residents considered the schools to be undesirable and it was common for middle-class pupils to transfer from city primaries to independent schools or to schools located outside of the Bristol LEA in order to avoid poor standards and low attainment at secondary level.[69] One parent's frustration was captured in a 1996 letter sent to Bristol City Council's Education Committee. Faced with the prospect of sending her children to a school south of the river (where the schools had poor reputations) this parent presented the plight of those in her area. She had tried:

> [T]o ensure they [her children] have a reasonable secondary education by sending them out of the city to reputable schools in Pill, Backwell and Gordano. Others have taken the private option, something we do not wish and cannot afford.[70]

A letter from another parent in south Bristol was published in the *Bristol Evening Post* in 1999. She expressed the view that, 'all schools in the South Bristol Consortium area under-achieve in exam results. If someone was to give me a choice of the schools in my consortium area I can honestly say that there isn't one that I could say yes to.'[71] An article published in the *Bristol Evening Post* the same year demonstrated the ubiquity of these concerns. It stated that more than a quarter of children achieving well at age eleven left the Bristol maintained sector at the secondary stage.[72] Statistics from Ofsted support this claim:

> LEA figures indicate that in 1999 Bristol lost twenty per cent of its pupils at secondary transfer, and that this constitutes twenty-nine per cent of all pupils who achieve levels four and five in the National Curriculum tests at age eleven.[73]

Parental choice (established in 1980 and expanded in 1988, as previously discussed) allowed parents to place their children in higher-performing state-maintained schools outside of their local authority. However, the option many middle-class parents took to transfer their children

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[67] Department for Education, *School Performance Tables* 1999, http://www.education.gov.uk/cgi-bin/schools/performance/archive/shlea1_99?lea=802&type=b.
[68] Department for Education, *School Performance Tables* 1999, < http://www.education.gov.uk/cgi-bin/schools/performance/archive/shschool1_99?School=8014038>.
[69] Bristol Archives, *Bristol City Council - Comprehensive Performance Assessment* M/BCC/EDU/5/3 2002.
[70] Bristol Archives*, Bristol City Council* M/BCC/EDU/1/2 22 November 1996.
[71] Sally Price, 'No Real Choice for Parents in School Places System', *Bristol Evening Post*, 17 February 1999, letters, p. 10.
[72] Richard Riddell, 'We're not there- but we will be', *Bristol Evening Post*, 15 December 1999, news, p. 6.
[73] Ofsted, 'Inspection of Bristol Local Education Authority', pp. 3, 5, 6.

out of Bristol schools could be unrealistic for families of a lower socio-economic status. Even if these families wanted to place their child in a higher-performing school outside of their neighbourhood they could be prohibited due to a lack of resources, such as money for transportation, which limited their choice.[74] The quality of education available nearby affected how well young people were prepared for work, training, further or higher education, and under-performing schools perpetuated a cycle of deprivation.[75] It was clear that drastic change was needed to improve local provision and raise standards to the benefit of the community. Due to their poor performance and unpopularity, schools in the Bristol LEA met the central government's criteria for take-over through the academy initiative.[76]

Although the central government saw an opportunity for the establishment of academies in Bristol, the local Labour government opposed the policy until after a city election in 2003 when it lost its majority. An inspection report, newspaper articles and opinion pieces allow the historian to capture an impression of Bristol's LEA from the late 1990s to 2003. In 1999 the *Bristol Evening Post* reported that although the local authority spent more on education than any other council in the west of England, Bristol was the second worst in the country for GCSE results. Liberal Democrat opposition leader Barbara Janke felt this was 'a result of the abysmal leadership and breath-taking complacency shown by the Labour council.'[77] The perception of a council that allocated its money poorly and was unable or unwilling to facilitate change was heightened in a 1999 Ofsted inspection of Bristol's LEA. The report described the circumstances that allowed ineffectual practices at failing schools to persist. In addition to a lack of realistic planning the inspectors felt 'there is also a vagueness of central direction and slowness of response to some elements of government policy and local circumstances that prevent the LEA being as effective as it should be.'[78] An argument from Leo et al, that local authorities were seen not to hold back good schools, but unable to confront failing ones, is relevant: 'This was largely because a local authority bureaucracy was inevitably more concerned with maintaining harmony and stability in its constituent parts than with the friction and upheaval necessarily involved in challenging poor

[74] Simon Burgess, Ellen Greaves, Anna Vignoles and Deborah Wilson, 'Parental Choice of Primary School in England: What Types of School to Different Types of Family Really Have Available to Them?' in *Policy Studies* 32:5 (2011) pp. 531-532; Stephen J. Ball, 'Education Markets, Choice and Social Class: The Market as a Class Strategy in the UK and the USA' in *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 14:1 (1991) p. 13; Department for Education, *School Performance and Parental Choice of School*, pp. 6, 13.
[75] Department for Work and Pensions, Department for Education, *A New Approach to Child Poverty: Tackling the Causes of Disadvantage and Transforming Families' Lives,* 2011, p. 47; Ruth Lupton and Keith Kintrea, 'Can Community-Based Interventions on Aspirations Raise Young People's Attainment?', *Social Policy and Society* 10:3 (2011) p. 326.
[76] BBC News, *Education* '"City Academies' to Tackle School Failure', (2000) < http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/education/925378.stm>
[77] Jonathan Shorney, 'Bombshell as city's schools fail the GCSE test', *Western Daily Press* 11 March 1999, p. 1.
[78] Ofsted, 'Inspection of Bristol Local Education Authority', p. 3.

performance.'[79] Leo et al's statement was applicable to the Bristol LEA in the early 2000s; its improvement policies were primarily theoretical rather than action based.[80] The LEA's proposed solution to underperformance applied to all ten schools designated to be 'facing challenging circumstances', and mainly entailed schools sharing best practice through learning circles and discussion.[81] The proposition that discussion groups could result in sweeping reforms in a range of schools facing a variety of problems was an underestimation of the amount of work that needed to be done to bring real change and improvement to each school. The sustained underperformance indicated that Bristol's failing secondary schools could benefit from a new strategy focused on individualised and targeted action.

In 2003 Bristol voters removed Labour's majority in the City Council in a hung election.[82] Its loss of power after twenty years was attributed to lack of progress in improvement initiatives, including in education.[83] This stagnation was described in a 2002 Comprehensive Performance Assessment by the Audit Commission of the council's ability to provide quality public services efficiently and effectively. The assessment rated both the council's current provision and its ability to improve as weak, a judgement that extended to its schools.[84] Following Labour's loss of seats, change came to the authority's attitude towards education. Archival records indicate that by 2005 Bristol City Council was amenable to the academy initiative and open to identifying potential sponsors. One report noted that: 'There was a feeling that academies were needed as any form of school that could improve education in Bristol was a good thing.'[85] The local authority's adoption of the principle of 'what counts is what works', resulted in the need to identify suitable philanthropic and private-sector sponsors, such as SMV, for secondary academies.

Friends in high places

The voluntary and private sectors are an integral aspect of the history of education services in contemporary England as thousands of independently-managed, state-funded schools have been established under the academy policy. Yet the motivations and challenges independent

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[79] Leo, Galloway and Hearne, *Academies and Educational Reform,* p. 31.
[80] Bristol Archives, *Transforming Education in Bristol Strategy for Improvement in Schools Facing Challenging Circumstances* M/BCC/EDU/5/3, 2002.
[81] Bristol Archives, *Transforming Education in Bristol Strategy for Improvement in Schools Facing Challenging Circumstances* M/BCC/EDU/5/3, 2002.
[82] 'Labour Hammered', *Bristol Evening Post*, 2nd May, 2003, News, p. 1
[83] 'Council is Living on Borrowed Time', *Bristol Evening Post*, 23rd December 2002, News, p. 10; 'Labour Faces a Fall from Grace', *Bristol Post*, 30th April 2003, p. 8.
[84] Audit Commission (National Archives), *Comprehensive Performance Assessment: Scores and Analysis of Performance for Single Tier and County Councils in England, December 2002*, p. 16.
http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20100702154648/http://audit-commission.gov.uk/SiteCollectionDocuments/InspectionOutput/CPAscores2002.pdf
[85] Bristol Archives, *Bristol School Organisation Committee* M/BCC/EDU/3/5, 27th September 2005.

providers of state-maintained education faced, along with the solutions they sought have not been thoroughly examined in a historical context. In this section, SMV's decision to become an academy sponsor is examined through its use of its own support networks, underlining the significance of private networks alongside partnerships with the state. Equally important to the discussion are the disagreements that occurred between SMV members over the Society's role and purpose in an era of widening social entrepreneurial participation in England's public services.

In 2002 SMV received an invitation to speak with the then Minister for Schools, Andrew Adonis, about the deplorable state of secondary education in Bristol.[86] One SMV member believed the government's interest in SMV was due to its philanthropic nature and similarity to a London Livery Company, organisations that had also played a historic role in the civic life of their city:

> I think that they, Adonis and others had thought to themselves, what sort of organisation might be good to be a sponsor of an academy. And I imagine they thought that the livery companies in London and the equivalents elsewhere in the country, because they are already involved in education, they have the sort of people who you are used to seeing on trustee bodies and so forth. And they were there for [the] long term. Might be an ideal type of sponsor. Because right at the start a reasonable number of the academies were sponsored by the Mercers and the Haberdashers and other livery companies. So I imagine that's how it came [to be]. Because Bristol was appalling with education at that time. So, it's not surprising they looked at Bristol and said right, what sort of bodies might become [sponsors].[87]

Former Treasurer of SMV Richard Morris also attested that the government's interest in SMV was due to its connection with the London Livery Companies:

> What had happened was that they [the government] had got a couple of sponsors for their London schools and the key to it, was they had the Mercers Company…So the Mercers Company was sponsoring a couple [of] schools and had the ear of the government. And the Mercers Company, who we have a fair relationship with said "you'll get a pretty good starting point by looking at the Merchant Venturers of Bristol, because they are an equivalent to us and if you think we've done a good job."[88]

From here, Morris said, the government contacted SMV. Both interviewees believed the government's approach to SMV was based upon the fact that it was a historical and long-standing civic body similar to the livery companies and already engaged in education in Bristol. Their perception accords with the fact that Andrew Adonis was himself a supporter of these organisations' endeavours in education. In his 2012 book *Education, Education, Education: Reforming England's Schools,* Adonis made repeated references to the good work that had been done by livery

[86] MH, BoP 46, *Standing Committee*, 26 July 2002, pp. 114-15.
[87] Anonymous Interviewee C, recorded by Theresa McKeon 26 August 2016.
[88] Richard Morris Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 17 November 2016. Morris was the Treasurer of the Society from 2003 to 2015. He was not a member of the Society but did participate in all of their projects and initiatives during his time there.

companies in their respective academies.[89] Government policymaking also endorsed these sponsors. The 2004 Department for Education and Skills document entitled *Five Year Strategy for Children and Learners* highlighted the Mercers' Company and its Walsall Academy as an example of an excellent and innovative school.[90] The London livery companies not only played a role in direct sponsorship of their own academies, they influenced the development of other schools as well. Indeed, SMV's decision to become a sponsor was plausibly on account of its connections to the livery companies rather than the outcome of a relationship with the government.

SMV entered unfamiliar territory as it began to explore academy sponsorship. As one member recalled from the early days: '[T]hat was quite challenging to think are we setting course, setting ourselves on the right direction…we were really a bunch of educational amateurs.'[91] Seeking to expand its understanding of academies, SMV sought input from livery companies its members knew and interacted with socially. Speaking of the relationship with the Mercers and Haberdashers, a member stated, 'yes we just connect as Societies. So we entertain them they entertain us and we know them quite well. They were very big and still are very big into education. So we listened carefully to what they had to say.'[92] This social connection allowed SMV to access the knowledge and experience of academy sponsors with similar backgrounds and values to its own. As a result, SMV had the advantage of hearing what sponsorship entailed from a like-minded organisation rather than a government representative. Morris remembered:

> The Mercers' Clerk, a chap called Charles Parker, came down to speak to the Standing Committee to tell them about these academies and to tell them warts and all, this is what the form is. Because we had just heard it from the government and we're naturally suspicious of governments because they're here today, gone tomorrow…It was only because of the Mercers' visit to the Standing Committee by Charles Parker that the Standing Committee felt this was something worth doing. That was the reason…And that was very critical. Because they were like-minded and we had a lot of respect for them.[93]

Morris consequently attributed the Merchants' interest in moving forward with the academy initiative to their connection with an organisation that had similar values and outlook to their own. His belief that SMV chose to pursue academy sponsorship only after discussing it with its peers offered insight into SMV's decision-making process. Although SMV would 'partner' with the state to design and run an academy, a discourse between private networks had persuaded SMV to become a sponsor. According to Morris, SMV took away a positive impression of the initiative and was therefore inclined to proceed. In this way, the voluntary sector influenced the direction

[89] Adonis, *Education, Education, Education,* pp. 54-55, 68-69, 156-163.
[90] Department for Education and Skills, *Five Year Strategy for Children and Learners,* 2004, p. 51.
[91] Anonymous Interviewee C, recorded by Theresa McKeon 26 August 2016.
[92] Anonymous Interviewee C, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 16 August 2016.
[93] Richard Morris Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 17 November 2016.

of public provision as social entrepreneurs consulted one another, rather than the government, with discussions about academy sponsorship.

The Mercers' Company answered questions and allayed concerns prior to SMV's decision to become a sponsor, yet this was only one way the connections between SMV and the livery companies were used. After SMV decided to take on sponsorship it sought further guidance from its peers. During the planning stages in 2004 SMV members toured the Mercers' schools in Bexley and Walsall to further their understanding of academies and to see what they might look like.[94] In the same year SMV also examined the structure and role of governing bodies and their sub-committees under the Haberdashers' Aske Federation.[95] SMV also consulted the Haberdashers on their experience in setting up an endowment fund for their academy, and on their knowledge of working with the Treasury.[96] The Skinners' Company similarly got involved by sharing with SMV a draft for the role of Education Officer, a position it had introduced into its own organisation to better link in with its schools and national educational trends.[97] Governance, finance and infrastructure were all discussed amongst these societies. SMV relied heavily on knowledge imparted by similar organisations, ones that could assuage its concerns and answer its questions. Yet as SMV learned more about the process of sponsorship it also had to confront its own reservations about becoming involved in the public sphere.

Up until the early 2000s SMV's charitable contribution to Bristol had been 'philanthrocapitalist' in nature. As discussed in Chapter One, philanthrocapitalism refers to the act of a private or profit-making organisation providing finance for public services. Since 1987 SMV had supported the Greater Bristol Trust, which targeted community needs and made grants available to specific causes across the city. Though its funds crossed from the private/philanthropic sphere into the public realm, SMV itself had not intervened in the running of public services. It governed two independent schools and had never collaborated with the government. Sponsorship of an academy required SMV to transition from a philanthrocapitalist to a social entrepreneurial organisation. Not only was funding required through a £2 million grant, the take-over of a failing state-maintained school demanded time, energy and a long-term commitment.[98] Some Merchants viewed the potential transformation to a social entrepreneurial organisation with excitement, others with apprehension or even hostility. One concern was the

[94] MH, *Academy Project Board,* 25 May 2004.
[95] MH, Merchants' *Academy General and Education Portfolio*, 'Governors and Governor's Committees of the Haberdashers' Aske Federation', October 2005.
[96] MH, BoP 46, *Standing Committee*, 26 March 2004, p. 268.
[97] MH, Merchants' *Academy General and Education Portfolio*, 'Job Description of Education Officer, Skinners' Company'.
[98] Robert Long, 'Academies under the Labour Government', *House of Commons Library*, pp. 1, 3, 5. http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/22717/1/SN05544.pdf

potential detraction of attention from SMV's two independent schools, Colston's School and Colston's Girls' School (CGS).[99] Governors of CGS were ambivalent; they were not opposed to the project, but neither did they offer outright encouragement. The governors of Colston's School, on the other hand, were openly opposed to the foundation of another school and with it a social entrepreneurial initiative.[100] They felt there was already too much competition between the two existing schools and worried about their access to funding. In fact, they felt that fundraising endeavours should assist the two independent schools, rather than a new state-maintained academy.

Further reticence to the idea of sponsoring an academy was rooted in members' political views and wariness of the public sector. One observer noted that:

> There was a lot of just natural distrust by some people in getting involved with state education and getting…not having your independence…And just some political feelings that this is not, I mean it was a Labour government and not everyone in the Merchants is a Labour voter I don't think. So there was a mixture of feelings.[101]

This statement revealed valuable insight into the workings of SMV and the tensions between members over projects and priorities. The assertion that SMV was wary of getting involved in state-maintained education certainly accords with the objections posed by the governors of Colston's School. For some members of SMV, private and exclusive schooling was held in high regard compared to state education that was ultimately under someone else's control. Beyond that was the dismissal of academies due to their origin in a Labour government. Its support of two fee-paying schools allowed SMV to advertise itself as a promoter of education in Bristol, though some members of SMV felt it was not their responsibility to address state-maintained education. Morris believed that, 'the general view amongst the majority of Merchants at the time was no, this is not a good thing for us to do, why should we be bailing out a failed local authority?'[102] The fact that some members preferred not to engage in a project that targeted improvement where it was needed indicated a willingness to support education only so far as it aligned with their personal and political ideologies of private education and conservative values. Yet despite the reluctance of some members to get involved with a government-led, social entrepreneurial initiative, in 2004 the Standing Committee voted overwhelmingly in favour (thirteen to one) of moving forward with the proposal.[103] However, the tension between public and private-sector values had only just begun for Merchants' Academy.

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[99] MH, BoP 46, *Standing Committee*, 6 December 2002, p. 115.
[100] MH, BoP 46, *Standing Committee*, 26th March 2004, p. 261.
[101] Anonymous Interviewee C, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 26 August 2016.
[102] Richard Morris Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 17 November 2016.
[103] MH, BoP 46, *Standing Committee,* 26th March 2004, p. 261.

SMV's decision to sponsor Merchants' Academy brought an era of stagnation to a close as it prepared to immerse itself into the social entrepreneurial world of independently-managed, state-maintained schooling. SMV's vision of utilising its specialised knowledge and resources for the improvement of a failing secondary school is couched within the wider social history of education, philanthropy and the blurred boundary between public and private-sector values in modern England and will be closely examined throughout the following sections. First, the circumstances within the academy's predecessor school and the reasons it had been targeted for improvement via the academies programme must be further elucidated.

Withywood Community School

By the early 2000s Bristol's LEA had failed to adequately address poor performance at Withywood Community School (WCS), a comprehensive school in a deprived South Bristol neighbourhood. This area, Withywood, had faced a long era of decline. Built in the post-war period to meet the housing needs of families living in city centre slums and those affected by war damage, the 1950s and 1960s saw the influx of working-class families onto the estate. Withywood shared much in common with other suburban housing estates built across England at that time. Its residents were provided with new schools and shopping areas, useful for a neighbourhood that was isolated from the city centre by distance and poor transport links.[104] For a time, rates of employment were high. The Wills Tobacco factory opened in 1974 offering jobs to many of the area's residents, though in the 1970s Withywood was already headed towards decline. Pollution, the lack of health amenities, paucity of bus services and decay of the main shopping area all contributed.[105] The closure of the Wills factory in 1990 compounded the sense of isolation and deterioration.[106] Since the factory closed Withywood has been plagued by unemployment, deprivation and low aspirations.[107]

The 2007 Index of Multiple Deprivation in Bristol identified Withywood at 3,125, on a scale where 1, the lowest number possible, represented the most, and the highest number, 32,844 the least, deprived.[108] In terms of education, skills and training, Withywood scored even higher for deprivation at 1,634. Both scores were within the first quintile for measuring deprivation.

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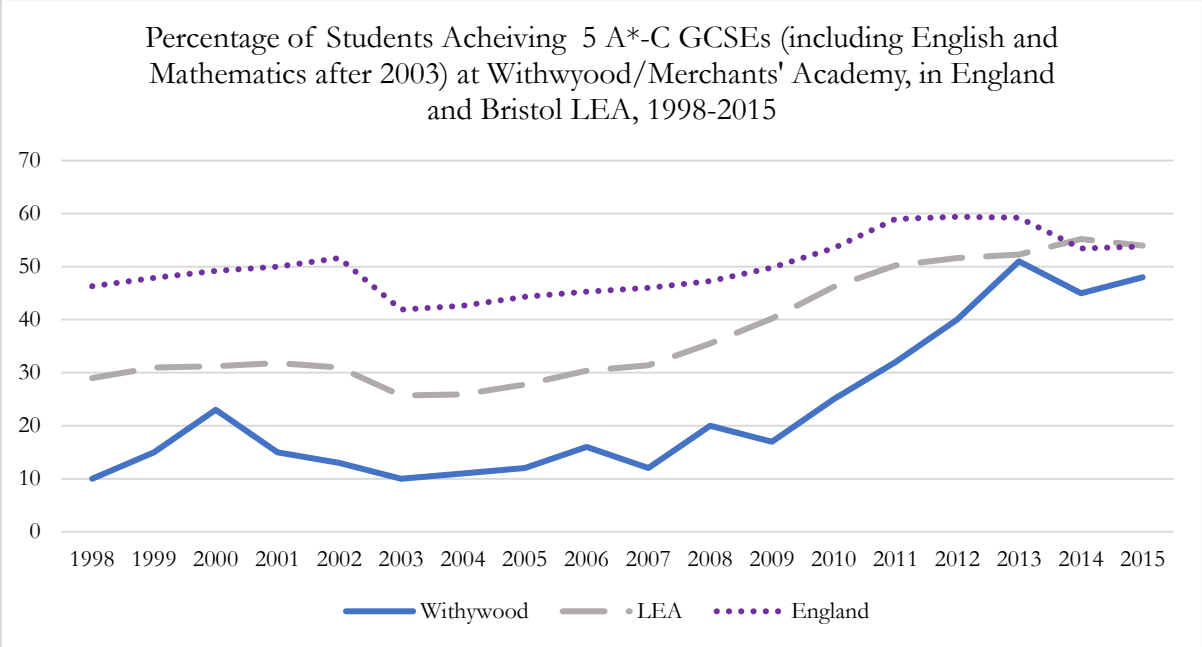
[104] Bristol Archives, Bk/2274, *At Home on the Slopes: A History of Hartcliffe and Withywood,* ed. Neil Beddow (Bristol: ACTA Community Theatre Ltd, 2002), pp. 17-19, 26, 31-32, 39.
[105] Bristol Archives Bk/2274, *At Home on the Slopes,* pp. 36, 40-43, 67, 103, 106, 117, 122-23.
[106] BBC Bristol, 'Historic Places', (2014) <
http://www.bbc.co.uk/bristol/content/articles/2005/12/23/pwaod_cigarettes_feature.shtml>
[107] Ofsted Training Standards Council, *Inspection Report March 2000: Hartcliffe and Withywood Ventures Ltd*, (2000), pp. 3-5.
[108] Bristol City Council, *Indices of Deprivation,* 2007
<http://ias.bristol.gov.uk/IAS/dataviews/report?reportId=404&viewId=142&geoReportId=5258&geoId=23&geoSubsetId=>

However, education, skills and training scored lower than other services in the ward such as barriers to housing and living standards, indicating a serious deficiency in educational services. The lack of good schools linked Withywood to a wider social trend. In 2008, white Britons living in the most disadvantaged circumstances were among the lowest attaining groups in education in the nation; the composition and performance of students at Withywood Community School reflected such social problems.[109] Disadvantaged white British persons made up the majority of the student body, which in 2003, the year the ward was selected for the academies initiative, achieved a 10 per cent pass rate for five GCSEs at A*- C against a national average of 41.9 per cent.[110] See Figure 3.1 below.

Figure 3.1



After 2015 the government altered the way it measured and published GCSE data, using a new 'Progress 8' score. And after 2017, numbers were used instead of letters for scores. Thus, the data in this graph ends in 2015. Source: Gov.uk, *Compare School and College Performance,* (2008 -2015) https://www.compare-school-performance.service.gov.uk/schools-by-type?step=phase&region=801&geographic=la&phase=secondary.

The deprivation of the neighbourhood and poor attainment at the school meant the academy leadership needed to be prepared to face challenges unknown to members of SMV who were familiar with schools with a more affluent and stable intake. As one recent study by

[109] Feyisa Demie and Kirstin Lewis, 'White Working Class Achievement: An Ethnographic Study of Barriers to Learning in Schools,' *Educational Studies* 37:3 (2011) p. 247.
[110] See Figure 1.1 for the trend of scores over time. Ofsted, *Merchants' Academy Inspection Report,* 2011, p. 3; Department for Education, *School Performance Tables 2003,* http://www.education.gov.uk/cgibin/schools/performance/archive/dfe1x1_03.pl?School=8014038&Mode=ype=

sociologists and policy researchers argued, schools are paramount to children's worlds outside of educational provision: 'Schools are having to act as community anchors…responding to every child's needs, meeting parents, keeping order, organising events, covering core curricula, compensating for home problems and coping with behaviour difficulties.'[111] The headteacher and leadership team of Merchants' Academy, as well as SMV-appointed governors (eleven out of a possible total of twenty) had the responsibility of understanding and addressing the reality of this statement as it applied to their students.[112] SMV was appointed by the government to use its knowledge and expertise of quickly and effectively producing high-quality outcomes to improve standards and performance within the school – that is what made the academy programme a social entrepreneurial endeavour. Its attempt to transform Merchants' Academy and the lives of its students through the introduction of its values are discussed in detail in the following sections. Accordingly, this chapter underlines the significance of using a case study approach to historical research on welfare state retrenchment. Although policymaking occurred at a national level, the actual philanthropic provision of services was often enacted on a local scale, highlighting the value of analysing a city like Bristol and a social entrepreneurial organisation like SMV.

'Merchant values'

The remainder of the chapter analyses SMV's responsibilities as sponsor, its perception of what constituted a good education and the application of its values to an under-performing school in a deprived area. Finally, it examines the resulting outcomes in extra-curricular activities, careers education and post-sixteen qualifications. The discussion begins with an overview of the responsibilities the central government bestowed on SMV in its role as sponsor and majority representative on the academy's governing body.

In 2004, the Department for Education and Skills produced a document entitled *Governing the School of the Future* which stated that the purpose of a governing body was:

> [S]etting the school's vision and strategic aims, and agreeing plans and policies, making creative use of available resources, monitoring and evaluating performance and acting as a critical friend to the headteacher to support and challenge them in managing the school, ensuring that the school is accountable to the children and parents it serves, and to its local community and to those who fund and maintain it, as well as to the staff it employs.[113]

The 2009 White Paper *Your Child, Your Schools, Our Future: Building a Twenty-First Century Schools System* reiterated the expectation that school governors would hold the school leadership to

[111] Anne Power, Helen Willmot and Rosemary Davidson, *Family Futures: Poverty and Childhood in Urban Neighbourhoods* (Bristol: Policy, 2011), p. 77.
[112] MH, *Executive Summary- Memorandum and Articles of Association* 2005.
[113] Department for Education and Skills, *Governing the School of the Future*, 2004, p. 5.

account.[114] In addition, Bristol's local authority set its own expectations for SMV through its School Organisation Committee in 2005:

> The objectives the academy is intended to achieve are, to raise standards, to prepare pupils for active citizenship and successful employment, to involve parents and the wider community fully. To stimulate lifelong interests through involvement in a broad range of extra-curricular activities and to contribute to the regeneration of Withywood for the benefit of local people.[115]

Overlapping responsibilities between these different guidelines were raising standards, offering support and constructive criticism to the headteacher, and serving the children, their parents and the community. As sponsor of Merchants' Academy, SMV's focus was on improving pupils' behaviour and academic achievement, raising aspirations, using education and community engagement to regenerate the neighbourhood, and offering a wide range of extra-curricular activities.[116] These goals aligned with the expectations from local and national government, although SMV brought its own private-sector interpretation of extra-curriculum and sixth-form education to the academy when it opened in 2008. This strategy was not without its challenges; the problems facing the academy ultimately conflicted with SMV's vision, resulting in backtracking and the failure of some initiatives to gain traction.

SMV's implementation of an ethos and goals for the students and staff at Merchants' Academy has, to some extent, been captured through oral history interviews with SMV members and a former headteacher. Interviewees enlivened the school's history and provided insight into SMV's experience acting in a social entrepreneurial capacity in a way that meeting minutes could not. Analysis of SMV's approach to inculcating a new ethos or character in the school adds to our historical understanding of the effect an elite, philanthropic organisation had on the delivery of state-maintained educational services. For it was clear from interview testimony that the transmission of SMV values was intended to be a quintessential part of the academy's development. Former Chair of Governors Chris Curling recalled:

> [O]ur ambitions for the school were very much to create an environment in which all the students would be able to develop to the maximum extent possible a wide set of life skills. I think there's something in the DNA of the Merchant Venturers which is very much about having broad life skills as well as you know, reasonable academic attainment.[117]

The academy policy was designed for sponsors like SMV to integrate its vision for broad life skills into the school's ethos and curriculum. In this case the implementation of its goals into a

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[114] Department for Children, Schools and Families, *Your Child, Your Schools, Our Future: Building a 21st Century Schools System,* 2009, pp. 48, 93.
[115] Bristol Archives, *Bristol School Organisation Committee*, M/BCC/EDU/3/5, 27 September 2005 p. 2
[116] MH, *Merchants Academy Withywood Briefing Sheet;* Anonymous Interviewee C, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 26 August 2016.
[117] Chris Curling Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 2 November 2016.

historically under-performing school proved challenging. One Merchant elaborated on the immense task SMV encountered:

> Perhaps the toughest bit really, is trying to decide what sort of a school was going to succeed. Because you get given a blank sheet of paper. I mean not only could we appoint our own architects and manage our own building…We could sort of decide the philosophy of the school, and ethos. How on earth do you create a good educational environment. For young people from that area of Bristol, given that most of us on the board and the governors had been to very different types of schools, different types of neighbourhoods, we hadn't been to school for several decades, we were not specialists in education, so in many ways it's quite high risk to expect a group of people to come up with something better than that was evolved through engagement of professionals in education… But then you know we weren't short of confidence and common sense and prepared to look at things and if they weren't the right one, sort of discard it and we'll try again. So we were quite pragmatic about it all.[118]

This SMV member's statement demonstrated self-awareness over the challenges that arose between a private-sector sponsor and a state-maintained school in a disadvantaged neighbourhood. Although the speaker made this acknowledgment with the benefit of hindsight years after the academy had opened and SMV had gained more experience, it nevertheless raises an important point. The opportunities that were introduced by a group of people with far different, and more advantageous circumstances than the students of Withywood, led to a cultural conflict and a clash of expectations. Programmes and initiatives celebrated by SMV for their broad life skills approach failed to take hold in a school where such concepts were unfamiliar and appeared irrelevant to pupils. Extra-curriculum, work placements, and sixth-form education serve as specific examples of the disparity between a social entrepreneur's vision and its execution, and the students' needs and interests.

Opportunities outside of the classroom

A programme of extra-curricular activities aligned with Bristol LEA's goal for Merchants' Academy, discussed in the previous section. However, SMV had its own motivation for introducing new extra-curricular activities, which it referred to as co-curriculum. This term emphasised the importance SMV ascribed to non-academic pursuits. Enrichment activities were to be equal to academic learning, rather than an optional extra. This approach to co-curriculum was based on SMV members' own educational experience. 'So many of the governors had been to very, very different types of schools. And they were bringing their own, I'll put myself into that, our own understanding, experience. To say well this is what good schools are all about.'[119] Co-

[118] Anonymous Interviewee C, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 26 August 2016.
[119] Anonymous Interviewee C, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 26 August 2016.

curricular programmes were a normal part of the timetable at independent and high-performing state schools and SMV saw no reason the principle could not be applied to its academy:

> The Academy was founded to create an offering markedly different to that of failing or coasting comprehensives that have dominated the Bristol landscape for too long. This was clearly articulated in the founding vision. A wide and full education includes non-academic subjects, a menu that has proved to be highly successful with many private schools and the more successful state schools. Why not in Withywood?[120]

The boldness of this approach was borne out through SMV's proposal for the foundation of a Combined Cadet Force (CCF): the CCF programme aligned with the idea that the academy would offer options typically associated with independent schools.

The programme's nineteenth-century origins lay in preparing privileged youth for war, though by the 1960s its purpose and relevance in Britain's modern society was questioned by citizens considering Britain's future, rather than its imperial past. Nevertheless, grammar and independent schools continued to offer CCF as a supplementary learning activity to their pupils, one that honed their leadership skills and personal development. As reporter and CCF advocate Ronan Thomas argued, CCF was not intended not to be a political or military programme, but a vehicle for inculcating in students a sense of self-reliance and perseverance.[121] He reasoned that aspirational parents valued these characteristics and CCF's growing popularity accounted for an the existence of more than 200 programmes in mostly independent schools across the country in 2006.[122]

Thomas' argument resonated with political and popular belief at the time. In 2006, two years before Merchants' Academy opened, Gordon Brown had called for widespread expansion of CCF in state-maintained schools.[123] The then Chancellor added his voice to the growing number of supporters. Articles and features in newspapers between 2006-2009 indicated writers' and contributors' positive feelings towards the expansion of CCF in the public sphere. Nick Morrison wrote in the *Times Education Supplement* in 2009 that the presence of CCF in a state-maintained school he visited had led to improved behaviour and raised students' self-confidence.[124] Matthew Wright's piece in the *Guardian* in 2006 emphasised the broad skills CCF participants learned – teamwork, problem-solving and leadership – outside of the classroom.[125] Some educationalists also supported the initiative. The Voice teaching union announced its support of the establishment

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[120] MH, *Some Observations and Points on Co-Curricular and Investing for the Future*, 20 January 2012.
[121] Ronan Thomas, 'Corps Values', *History Today,* 57:2 (2007), pp. 32-33.
[122] Thomas, 'Corps Values', p. 33.
[123] *Gordon Brown's Speech to Royal United Services Institute*, 13 February 2006. <
http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/4708816.stm>
[124] Nick Morrison, 'About Turn', *The Times Educational Supplement*, 24 April 2009, p. 22.
[125] Matthew Wright, 'Setting Sail for Unchartered Waters: Gordon Brown Wants More Children to see the Benefits of Being a Cadet. But is he Doing it the Best Way?' *Guardian*, 25 July 2006, p. 3.

of CCF programmes in state-maintained schools in 2008.[126] In terms of the expansion of CCF, SMV therefore represented one organisation in a broader trend. Leading politicians and educational providers sought to use CCF to raise aspirations and expose students in the state-maintained sector to new activities, goals and characteristics they associated with high-quality education.

The implementation of CCF at Merchants' Academy and its outcomes act as a case study of the way in which private-sector values interacted with the expectations of students at a chronically under-performing state-maintained school. Increasing opportunities and raising the aspirations of students were worthy goals for the sponsor of an academy in a deprived community, but understanding the students' backgrounds, their expectations and what constituted their vision for the future was vital.[127] When the CCF programme failed to attract many participants, SMV believed that lack of enthusiasm was due to pupils' perception of the programme as one with no end goal that still required weekly attendance.[128] The time commitment could have contributed to the apathy, but there was a broader disconnect at work. The reality of living in Withywood meant that many children looked to a future where simply finding employment meant securing a good future, never mind developing leadership skills and self-motivation. The esoteric nature of CCF, unfamiliar class values and the commitment required were unfamiliar to members of a disadvantaged community. Other problems related to a lack of staff support and experienced leadership to run the programme, as well as community opposition over the use of rifles on a school campus.[129]

Over time and given the opportunity to address these problems CCF has grown more popular amongst the pupils at Merchants' Academy. Ofsted reported in a 2017 inspection that 'pupils spoke highly' of the opportunity to join CCF.[130] Ofsted did not mention the appeal of the programme and it is unknown what attracted pupils to CCF in recent years, and whether that accorded to SMV's vision for Merchants' Academy and CCF. The CCF programme therefore acts as one example of the convergence between private and public sectors in a social entrepreneurial scheme.

An examination of the wider co-curricular programme at Merchants' Academy further demonstrates the influence and effect a sponsor can have on its academy. SMV initially planned

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126 'Teacher Union Backs Cadet Forces', *BBC News*, 30 July 2008.
127 *Ministry of Defence* 'More Cadets for our Community' (2012) <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/more-cadets-for-our-communities>
128 MH, *Executive Summary of Merchants' Academy Cadet Force* December 2014.
129 MH, *Army Cadet Force Detachment Inspection Report* March 2014, MH, *Executive Summary of Merchants' Academy Cadet Force,* December 2014; 'Anger at School Rifle Plan' *Bristol Post*, 29 January 2008, p. 6; Chris Curling Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 2 November 2016.
130 Ofsted, *Merchants' Academy Inspection Report*, 6 November 2017, p. 6.

to introduce co-curriculum to the student body as a compulsory part of an extended school day when the academy opened in the autumn of 2008.[131] However, the plan failed as, in similar circumstances to CCF, participation levels were low and the school was inadequately staffed for such an endeavour. As a result, the Academy's governing body decided to go back to basics. The school needed a solid foundation built on employee support and student awareness of what was expected of them before any new innovation could take place.[132] Therefore, for several years the priority was on implementing basic attendance and behavioural reforms into the school. Despite the failure of SMV's co-curricular programme to take root it was not prepared to change tactics. In 2013, co-curriculum was added to the timetable as a two-hour session held every Wednesday afternoon, reflecting common practice at independent schools.[133] The academy offered a broad range of enrichment activities from which students could choose an option that appealed to them. The offerings changed on a termly basis with younger students encouraged to explore as many options as possible early on before selecting specific activities to which they wanted to commit.[134]

Co-curriculum also extended to include offsite activities. Research into deprived communities has suggested that disadvantaged children are less likely to have been exposed to the world outside of their estates, not even having been to major attractions or parks nearby.[135] Former headteacher Anne Burrell attested to the truth of this statement in relation to the students at Merchants' Academy:

> Most of them had never been to the Downs…you could see the [Clifton] suspension bridge from the school, most of them hadn't even been across the suspension bridge. Or been to it. They didn't know about the centre, they didn't know about the docks. They were quite fearful that it was for somebody else, and not them. So those kinds of opportunities, and then taking them further afield, to London, to Wales, abroad. All those things were about pushing horizons…We created an entitlement, that every child, by the time they left us would have visited an art gallery. Been to the theatre, done all those things.[136]

Academy leadership not only encouraged cultural development and the broadening of horizons, it insisted on it. The designation of the programme as 'entitlement' demonstrated the school's belief that every child deserved to have opportunities to explore new areas and ideas outside of their neighbourhoods. The activities were not considered by Burrell to be special events, but a right for every child to broaden his or her horizons. SMV governor Laura Marshall similarly

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131 MH, *Minutes of Education Strategy Meeting,* 27 September 2004.
132 MH, *Education and Curriculum Sub-Committee Meeting,* 18 November 2008; Anonymous Interviewee C, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 26 August 2016; Anne Burrell Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 28 July 2016.
133 MH, *Education and Curriculum Sub-Committee Meeting,* 12 June 2013.
134 Anne Burrell Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 28 July 2016.
135 Demie and Lewis, 'White Working Class Achievement', p. 253.
136 Anne Burrell Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 28 July 2016.

believed that, 'any experience we can give them, we believe is going to help them be a more rounded and aspirational individual.'[137] SMV members outside of the governing body were also involved in cultural development. For example, one Merchant financially supported the Duke of Edinburgh award at Merchants' Academy, another paid for a group of students to visit Cardiff and watch a cricket match and another took sixth-form students on a trip to London.[138] Without SMV's sponsorship, such enrichment activities would not have been available to the pupils at this Withywood school.

The benefits of co-curricular provision were acknowledged and celebrated beyond the academy's governors and staff. In a 2009 publication on characteristics of outstanding schools Ofsted praised co-curricular programmes in schools serving disadvantaged areas for their role in promoting self-confidence and making schools more appealing to children.[139] In its 2014 inspection Ofsted applauded Merchants' Academy for the 'excellent opportunities for students of all ages to engage in a wide variety of activities where they learn new skills, discover new talents, learn to work as a team and build confidence as individuals.'[140] Merchants' Academy's co-curricular offerings also attracted local attention. An article in the *Bristol Post* in 2014 commended the academy's programme alongside three other schools in Bristol, one independent and all, apart from Merchants' Academy, located in the more prosperous areas north of the river.[141]

At the national level, the academies initiative was designed to introduce innovative ideas to the management of under-performing schools in low-income areas by spreading resources and expertise across public and private sectors. In the case of SMV, its members understood education in relation to their own experiences and applied this knowledge to Merchants' Academy. They used their knowledge and resources to influence the academy's provision of co-curricular activities, but their expectations and understanding did not align to those of the students. However, co-curriculum was only one area in which SMV's vision was not easily implemented. Careers education and differing approaches to sixth-form qualifications presented a conflict in expectations between elite businesspeople and teenagers living on an estate in south Bristol. Analysis of these aspects of schooling at Merchants' Academy offer rich insight into modern philanthropy and the role non-statutory providers play in the delivery of state-maintained educational services in contemporary England.

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[137] Laura Marshall Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 25 November 2016.
[138] MH, *Letter from Andrew Applin,* June 22 2013; MH, Merchants' *Academy General and Education Portfolio*, *'Merchants' Academy Self-Evaluation Curriculum Leaders, Humanities Department'*; Laura Marshall Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 25 November 2016; Chris Curling Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 2 November, 2016.
[139] Ofsted, *Twelve Outstanding Secondary Schools: Excelling Against the Odds,* 2009, p. 40.
[140] Ofsted*, Merchants' Academy Inspection Report,* 2014, p. 8.
[141] Marc Rath, 'Opening Pupils' Eyes to Whole New Worlds of Possibilities', *Bristol Post,* 16 September 2014, pp. 12-13.

Careers and employability

The provision of lessons in employability and work experience were shared goals between SMV and Bristol City Council, which wanted to see Merchants' Academy successfully prepare students for employment.[142] As business leaders in Bristol, members of SMV were seemingly well-placed to contribute to careers education and all that it entails such as work placements and employability lessons. To demonstrate its commitment to the theme of employability, SMV selected a specialisation in enterprise and skills for the academy.[143] Though the adoption of this specialism was in accordance with New Labour's educational policies designed to fight poverty, SMV developed its ideas of engaging with employability and raising aspirations, separately.[144] For Curling, the enterprise and skills specialism, and particularly the notion of employability was part of the fabric life at Merchants' Academy:

> Developing in students, the attitudes, the behaviours, the character[istics] that are necessary to make them good employees…I mean I think quite a large part of it, it's actually stuff that's done in the classroom. So it's about giving them analytical skills, giving them creative skills, giving them skills of articulation. And it's about giving them self-confidence. But it's also about explaining the consequences of people not turning up for work, or not turning up for work on time. [145]

Beyond developing the skills of a future workforce in the classroom, Curling wanted to place students in direct contact with businesses through work experience:

> What every student should ideally have is a mentor, an employee in a business, with whom a relationship can be built with an individual student. And that student would be able to go, maybe on a sort of one-to-one basis from time-to-time and shadow the mentor. And have a much more engaged relationship over a longer period with a particular business. And I can't see any reason *at all* why that shouldn't be possible. And indeed it's something I'd love to see, right across all the schools in Bristol. You know we've got this massive pool of businesses right *here* in our membership and to be able to harness that, I think would be fantastic.[146]

Curling's emphasis on business as a career path was perhaps predictable for a Chair of Governors with industry experience. But it highlights again the way in which SMV members' personal experiences were used to influence the ethos of Merchants' Academy; though like CCF their ideas did not always resonate with pupils. Records of work placements for the 2008-09 school year

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[142] Bristol Archives, *Bristol School Organisation Committee*, M/BCC/EDU/3/5 27th September 2005 p. 2.
[143] MH, Project Board, *Project Board Meeting*, 9 December 2004.
[144] S. Sinclar, J.H. McKendrick and G. Scott, 'Failing Young People? Education and Aspirations in a Deprived Community', *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice* 5:1 (2010) p. 6; MH, *Merchants' Academy General and Education Portfolio*, 'Careers and Employability Skills Policy'.
[145] Chris Curling Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 2 November 2016.
[146] Italics indicate words on which the interviewee placed emphasis. Chris Curling Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 2 November 2016.

revealed the roles Merchants' Academy students were considering or found interesting. Most accepted placements in hairdressing, child or animal care, retail, education, engineering/mechanics and the manual trades.[147] Many children were thus exposed to non-business oriented, non-high status jobs, but that does not mean they served students poorly. In fact, some students on the hairdressing scheme secured regular paid employment following their placement. A minority of students took placements in publishing, law and administration, gaining experience in career paths that required further training or education beyond secondary school.

SMV connections to business were not widely used as placements were arranged in an ad-hoc manner. A well-connected organisation such as SMV should have had the potential to create networks that would be unavailable to other academy sponsors and their students. On occasion SMV connections did secure mentoring, training sessions and work placement opportunities for students but these were not made through official channels of an organised network. There was however, some oral evidence of the way in which connections were used. Burrell highlighted one particular case:

> We had our first girl who went on to a Russell Group university was thinking about doing law, and so in Year Twelve for her work placement, she thought, well I'd like a legal placement. We couldn't get them for love nor money. But one of the Merchants, his son-in-law was a barrister, and he said, 'Well I'll get that sorted' and he got it sorted. So they got opportunities that other children just wouldn't have.[148]

Although Burrell's statement acknowledged the advantages of having SMV involved in career placements the potential opportunities must be considered alongside the informal nature of these offers. Burrell was enthusiastic about using SMV connections to secure placements but had reservations about relying on them as a cohesive system:

> So what you had were a lot of wonderful people giving offers and stuff to the school whether it be opportunities or activities or whatever, that were really very special, but they were one-offs, or we didn't know they were coming or it was something somebody thought would be a good idea and it might not be necessarily a good idea at that point in time.[149]

Adding to the uncertainty and disorganisation was the fact that not every SMV member was prepared to set up work placements, or interested in or able to run them on a regular basis.[150] Opportunities were variable and depended on the availability and interests of Merchants and students. The informality of this arrangement was underpinned by a lack of data and written information accessible to SMV members and pupils alike. SMV sought to amend its system by testing a new networking and brokerage service in 2014 (designed to bring student and Merchant

[147] MH, *Merchants' Academy – Work Experience Review*, 2008-2009.
[148] Anne Burrell Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 28 July 2016.
[149] Anne Burrell Interview recorded by Theresa McKeon, 28 July 2016.
[150] Laura Marshall Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 25 November 2016.

interests together) but it did not gain traction and connections continued to be forged on an ad-hoc basis.[151]

Despite the potential for SMV to offer unique work placements to students there was no formal system in place that would connect them to one another. In addition, interests between students and SMV members did not always align. Work in the service and care industry appealed to students taking work placements but was at odds with SMV's knowledge and familiarity with the business sector. The case of careers education at Merchants' Academy consequently demonstrates the potential impact a sponsor could have on its students as well as the difference in outlook that existed between Bristol's business elite and children from a low-income neighbourhood.

Sixth form struggles

The history of the sixth form at Merchants' Academy feeds into the wider narrative of welfare state retrenchment policies in which successive governments introduced private-sector values into the provision of public services. Specifically, this section highlights the challenges that arose when an organisation formed of elite businesspeople and professionals became responsible for implementing a programme of post-sixteen education into an under-performing state-maintained school. SMV's desire to raise students' aspirations and expose them to new opportunities was evident through its vision for the academy's sixth form, in which it pursued a shift from vocational qualifications to the highly academic and internationally transferrable International Baccalaureate (IB) programme. This strategy underpinned SMV's understanding of what sixth-form education should entail; academic achievement, broad life skills and a respectable qualification leading to admission at a university. Similar to the initial results in co-curriculum and the difficulties of establishing a cohesive careers and employability programme, SMV struggled to align its vision to the needs and interests of the academy's students.

SMV's plan to introduce the IB programme to Merchants' Academy was not particularly unique or unusual in the early 2000s. From 2006-2008, the Labour government advocated for the expansion of the IB qualification to more state-maintained schools. Then Prime Minister Tony Blair announced in a 2006 keynote education speech that the government had set the goal of establishing one IB school in every LEA by 2010.[152] This target was to be achieved through the allocation of £2.5 million across interested schools to help defray the cost of accreditation.[153] The

[151] Chris Curling Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 2 November 2016.
[152] Politics.co.uk, 'Blair: Education Reforms Must Continue', (2007) <http://www.politics.co.uk/news/2006/11/30/blair-education-reforms-must-continue>
[153] Tristan Bunnell, 'The Rise and Decline of the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme in the United Kingdom', *Oxford Review of Education* 41:3 (2015) p. 392.

target of one IB school in every authority was never met as the government under the leadership of Gordon Brown abandoned the scheme in 2008. Nonetheless, there was a short time period in which the number of state-maintained schools offering the IB qualification increased.[154] It was amidst this surge, though not necessarily because of it, that the IB was established at Merchants' Academy. Parallels existed between the government's and SMV's plans. Both pursued the IB with vigour, but neither achieved its goals.[155] The examination of Merchants' Academy's sixth form reveals the reasons the IB failed to take root at the school. Ofsted reports and league tables tell only part of the story. In-depth analysis of SMV's archival records and oral history interviews was crucial to fill in the gaps. Not readily available to historians, these private and otherwise unrecorded sources revealed a complex contemporary history of a state-maintained school. Without access to SMVs private resources, one could not fully investigate its motivation for implementing the IB at Merchants' Academy and the challenges it faced when the principles behind the IB programme clashed with the actual experiences and expectations of students at a struggling state-maintained secondary school.

Prior to becoming an academy, sixth-form education at the school had been provided by the Southwest Bristol Post-Sixteen Centre, a collaboration between WCS and four other schools in the area.[156] WCS had offered the vocational Level 2 and 3 Business and Technology Education Council (BTEC) qualifications. Though the academy continued to offer BTECs for a short period following SMV's takeover, SMV's shift to focus to the academic IB qualification, discounting A-levels along the way, was a striking indication of its private-sector approach towards Merchants' Academy. Although devised by SMV this change to the sixth-form curriculum was sanctioned by Bristol's LEA and the central government.[157] SMV's goals were therefore approved by statutory bodies, traditionally more familiar with state-maintained educational provision than the members of SMV. Although both public and private sectors supported the implementation of the IB in principle, it was, nevertheless, SMV that focused on raising aspirations and standards to the extent of discounting more conventional qualifications.

The IB accorded with SMV interest in a rigorous academic education as well as holistic development, evident in a 2008 letter sent to the Minister for Schools:

> The structure of the IB reinforces the Academy's specialism (Enterprise and Skills) and our strategy of building a strong, community-centred school. We are attracted by the

[154] Bunnell, 'The Rise and Decline of the International Baccalaureate', pp. 392-94.
[155] Less than 100 (state-maintained and independent schools) offered the IB in 2007. There were 230 in 2010, 140 of which were state-maintained but the total number dropped to 144 in 2014. Bunnell, 'The Rise and Decline of the International Baccalaureate', pp. 389-90, 394.
[156] Education in the UK, 'Withywood Community School', (2007-08) < http://www.educationbase.co.uk/Withywood-Community-School-Bristol,CC0520>
[157] MH, BoP 46, *Standing Committee*, 26 September 2003, p. 214.

> community service dimension, the self-learning (which builds the life skills that we are keen to develop).[158]

The concept was clear – a post-sixteen curriculum that developed individual responsibility and skills to serve students beyond the classroom. Additionally, SMV wanted to raise the profile of the sixth form by sending out 'strong academic signals' to 'attract aspiring parents who currently send their children to schools outside of Withywood.'[159] It felt the IB would 'provide the Academy with a critical, higher-achieving cohort.'[160] The reference to a 'higher achieving cohort' revealed that SMV was aware of the low attainment level of students at the school. This awareness did not stop it from believing that all students, even those with 'moderate results' would be able to use the IB as a springboard to higher or further education courses.[161] The assumption that students should aim to advance to education beyond the sixth form was not challenged.

Vocational qualifications initially continued in the new sixth form but the dual offerings were contested by Merchants who felt that BTECs in hairdressing, construction and childcare were not appropriate educational endeavours. Others believed any course that engaged students and led to a job was worth supporting.[162] The discussion over what constituted a good education and what the end goals of students in the sixth form should be, demonstrated the disconnect between an elite social entrepreneurial organisation's (formed of managers and businesspeople) goals and values for education and the immediate reality of future prospects for students from a deprived neighbourhood. SMV saw the IB as a chance to elevate students' goals and future employment opportunities. Neither students' starting points nor their potential interest in vocational opportunities were considered to be insurmountable barriers. However, it soon became apparent that SMV's vision for the sixth form could not be realised in practice.

As sponsor, SMV undoubtedly wanted the students at its academy to succeed. However, as with its approach towards co-curriculum, the goals it set for its students did not align with the reality of the cultural, educational and social situation it had inherited. The vision of a private-sector sponsor clashed with the actual needs of the students. They, as well as staff unfamiliar with the rigours of academic sixth-form education in general, but particularly with an arcane qualification such as the IB, were not well-placed to succeed. Though an Ofsted inspection in 2011 found that some students enjoyed the IB programme and had gained university places, progress was slower than that of their peers studying for BTECs.[163] SMV and school leadership

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[158] *Letter to the Rt Hon the Lord Adonis from Denis Burn and Professor Eric Thomas*, 29 April 2008.
[159] *Letter to the Rt Hon the Lord Adonis from Denis Burn and Professor Eric Thomas*, 29 April 2008.
[160] *Letter to the Rt Hon the Lord Adonis from Denis Burn and Professor Eric Thomas*, 29 April 2008.
[161] *Letter to the Rt Hon the Lord Adonis from Denis Burn and Professor Eric Thomas*, 29 April 2008.
[162] Anonymous Interviewee C, Phone Interview, 1 February 2017.
[163] Ofsted, *Merchants' Academy Inspection Report*, 2011, p. 9

acknowledged the problems that had arisen and in 2012, after only two years, A-levels replaced the IB programme at Merchants' Academy.[164]

> Oral history interviewees recalled the IB's demise. A former Chair of Governors reflected:
>
> I think it was introduced with the good intention that it was seen sort of as a differentiator. But you know, not even Marlborough College has IB to the exclusion of A-levels. And it was an extraordinary idea really, because there's no doubt that the bar is set higher for university admissions, for example, with IB than it is for A-levels. And it was self-evidently a disaster.[165]

Another interviewee mused:

> I think it [the IB] keeps a much wider spread of knowledge and builds skills rather than just teaching to the exam which I feel is what A-levels have become. We have since dropped it and it's tougher, it's not recognised as well and I think it was just a step too far and it was too innovative I think for a school of that nature…Which was sad because it was very much the type of education that we wanted to try and bring into South Bristol to keep things broad for longer.[166]

This lamentation of the loss of the IB programme gave the impression that a broad, well-rounded curriculum could no longer be provided in the sixth form, though admission to university was still the goal. The focus on academic qualifications suggested that vocational education, potentially delivered in conjunction with A-levels, did not align with SMV's ambition to offer a broad education. This theory was substantiated by the elimination of BTECs as the school transitioned to A-level provision only, in 2012.

Though the IB programme had failed to take root, SMV was not willing to let its values and vision erode. SMV pressed for high standards and aspirations and ending BTEC provision was considered 'a consequence of the imperative of increasing academic challenge and aspiration within the Academy.'[167] Yet students' needs and interests pushed back against the force of SMV's expectations, resulting in further adjustments to the curriculum. In 2016 SMV reported that Merchants' Academy was reintroducing some 'quality' BTECs on a very selective basis.[168] Explaining its decision the report continued:

> There is however a considerable number of students in the Academy's cohort for whom the more vocational BTECs (hopefully reflecting higher aspiration than hairdressing and the like!) are the right option in the sixth form. That is why the decision has been taken to reintroduce some BTECs into the sixth form offering.[169]

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[164] MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee*, 30 September 2011, p. 226; Gov.uk, 'Compare School and College Performance' *Merchants' Academy* (2012) < http://www.education.gov.uk/cgi-bin/schools/performance/2012/school.pl?urn=135597>

[165] Chris Curling Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 2 November 2011.

[166] Anonymous Interviewee C, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 26 August 2016.

[167] MH, *Appendix 4 to Strategy Paper – Sixth Form Strategy*, 17 August 2016.

[168] MH, *Appendix 4 to Strategy Paper – Sixth Form Strategy*, 17 August 2016.

[169] MH, *Appendix 4 to Strategy Paper – Sixth Form Strategy*, 17 August 2016.

The two 'quality' BTECs introduced were computer science and health and social care.[170] The use of the term 'quality' is significant, for it indicated that despite the obstacles encountered in pursuit of academic curriculum, SMV was unwilling to re-consider its interpretation of suitable courses and appropriate aspirations for its students. Though it capitulated on the return of BTECs, their re-introduction was on SMV's terms. Over the course of the academy's first ten years in operation SMV continuously emphasised the importance of quality and standards at the sixth-form level. But abstract goals did not correlate to concrete results.

In 2017 Ofsted inspected Merchants' Academy and found its sixteen to nineteen study programmes to be inadequate.[171] Inspectors found that 'the sixth-form curriculum fails to meet the needs of students. The choice of options is small and not suited to the school's pupils as they transfer from Key Stage 4.'[172] Though the IB was no longer offered, A-level provision and two BTECs were deemed by Ofsted to be inappropriate options. It was clear the academic path favoured by SMV had not been wholly successful. The report went on to state:

> Students make slow progress from their starting points and achieve significantly weaker A-level results than students in other schools. This has been the case for some time and shows no sign of improving. Students currently make less progress than the government's minimum expected threshold.[173]

According to Ofsted then, the A-level courses were not of a high quality and did not positively impact students. The situation was compounded by the fact that '[l]eaders have overseen poor and declining outcomes for students over a three-year period. This is because they do not have high enough expectations of students…'[174] Ofsted's inspection revealed the sharp contrast between SMV's stated goals and the reality of the quality of provision in Merchants' Academy's sixth form. In direct conflict to SMV's vision of raising standards and aspirations, teachers and in-school leadership had low expectations of students. Despite SMV's vigorous pursuit of high-quality curriculum and qualifications in the academy's sixth form, such abstract principles did not correspond to actual outcomes.

Merchants' Academy's sixth form was devised during a time of welfare state retrenchment in the provision of secondary education. SMV brought a private-sector perspective to the post-sixteen curricula, championing the academic and holistic over the vocational, though never managing to implement its vision. From the beginning the IB was unsuitable for the needs and

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[170] MH, *Appendix 4 to Strategy Paper – Sixth Form Strategy*, 17 August 2016; *Merchants' Academy Sixth Form Course Handbook*, pp. 9, 14.
[171] Ofsted, *Merchants' Academy Inspection Report*, 2017, p. 1.
[172] Ofsted, *Merchants' Academy Inspection Report*, 2017, p. 3.
[173] Ofsted, *Merchants' Academy Inspection Report*, 2017, p. 8.
[174] Ofsted, *Merchants' Academy Inspection Report*, 2017, p. 8.

interests of students, yet despite SMV's best efforts to eliminate vocational courses BTECs returned to the prospectus, albeit on a very limited scale, in 2016. The persistence of vocational qualifications demonstrated the continuing tension between SMV's understanding of what a good education entailed and the more conventional options associated with a school like Merchants' Academy.

Performance

Up to this point, the chapter has focused on Merchants' Academy as a case study of the influence a sponsor's private-sector values can have on the ethos and management of a state-maintained secondary academy. Of course, at the root of the academy initiative was the idea that private-sector values and practices would improve pupils' attainment at poorly-performing schools. Having established the character of Merchants' Academy and gained an understanding of SMV's vision for it, an overview of students' exam performance at GCSE level will evaluate the extent to which the academy under SMV's oversight met, exceeded or failed to reach statutory benchmarks. Over its first ten years Merchants' Academy completed a full cycle from replacing a failing school to being labelled 'inadequate' itself.[175]

The first few years were ones of improvement. Rising exam scores and positive Ofsted inspections resulted in Merchants' Academy's classification as a 'good' school in 2011 and 2014.[176] Its standing was particularly evident when compared to its predecessor. Statistics compiled by the governing body as well as the central government indicated that the transition from WCS to Merchants' Academy had brought about noticeable improvements in pupil attainment. For instance, in 2011, three years after opening, the number of offers for university places had risen (seven gained places as opposed to one in 2010), attendance had increased by 3 per cent and places for Year Seven had been oversubscribed for the first time.[177] Examination results significantly improved. (See Figure 3.1 above for specific scores and comparisons to the LEA and England averages.) In 2008, only 20 per cent of GCSE students achieved five A*- C passes including English and Mathematics. In 2015, 48 per cent reached that benchmark.[178]

The league tables and Ofsted reports were joined by accolades from other quarters. In 2013 SMV received a letter from then Secretary of State for Education, Michael Gove,

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[175] Ofsted, *Merchants' Academy Inspection Report*, 2011, p.14; Ofsted, *Merchants' Academy Inspection Report*, 2014, p. 1; Ofsted, *Merchants' Academy Inspection Report*, 2017, p. 1.
[176] Ofsted, *Merchants' Academy Inspection Report*, 2011, p. 14; Ofsted, *Merchants' Academy Inspection Report*, 2014, p. 1.
[177] MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee*, 30 September 2011, pp. 225-6; MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee,* 25 March 2011, p. 197.
[178] Gov.uk, *Compare School and College Performance,* < https://www.compare-school-performance.service.gov.uk/school/135597?tab=secondary>; Department for Education, *Schools Performance Tables* (2008)<http://www.education.gov.uk/cgibin/schools/performance/archive/school_08.pl?No=8014038&Mode=Z&Type=SC&Phase=1&Year=08&Begin=s&Base=b&Num=801>

congratulating it on the academy's excellent results.[179] The same year the *Bristol Post* published an article that hailed Merchants' Academy as one of the fastest improving schools in the country. The author, Marc Rath, quoted a representative of The Schools Network who stated:

> Merchants' Academy should be congratulated for their stunning achievement in improving their GCSE results. Merchants' Academy has proved itself to be one of the best schools in the country at improving GCSE outcomes for their students. There is plenty that other schools could learn from Merchants' Academy's success.[180]

The article also declared the school to be among the best in Bristol for value-added results, the measure of students' progress over time.[181]

The era of improvement proved to be short-lived. Nearly ten years after opening it became clear that long-term change had not been achieved at Merchants' Academy. The 2017 GSCE results offered a stark contrast to the success of the previous few years; only 14 per cent of pupils achieved a '5' or above in English and Mathematics.[182] These results correspond to what the Education Policy Institute found to be a national trend: 'Between 2017 and 2018, students receiving free school meals during their education were 18.1 months behind others in GCSE English and maths.'[183] As a 2017 article in the *Financial Times* reported, '[t]he risk is that the pressures on school funding will result in a levelling down of educational attainment.'[184] Thus, the decline in GCSE results from 2017 at Merchants' Academy was part of a nationwide decline in attainment amongst disadvantaged pupils.

The Academy faced a number of other challenges in that same academic year. In November 2017 Ofsted rated Merchants' Academy as 'inadequate' in every category.[185] Absenteeism, low expectations, slow progress and unacceptable behaviour from the students, as well as poor teaching and governance were cited as reasons for this rating.[186] Ofsted's report read, 'governors allowed a period of decline to take place. They were ineffective in addressing the declining performance of the school with its leaders.'[187] As discussed earlier in the chapter, the role of an academy sponsor was to act as a 'critical friend' and hold the school leadership to account. Ofsted did not believe the governing body had fulfilled this duty. Yet the inspectorate remained optimistic for the future. Noting that the governors had received training and become more

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[179] MH, *Merchants' Academy General and Education Portfolio*, 'Letter from Michael Gove', 26 September 2013.
[180] Marc Rath, 'Academy "One of Fastest Improving"', *Bristol Post,* 12 July 2013, News, pp. 1-2.
[181] Rath, 'Academy "One of Fastest Improving"', pp. 1-2.
[182] The 5 refers to the new GSCE marking criteria after 2017 and is similar to a high C or low B under the old marking scheme. Gov.co.uk, 'Compare School and College Performance: Merchants' Academy', https://www.compare-school-performance.service.gov.uk/school/135597?tab=secondary [accessed 7/2/2018]
[183] Education Policy Institute, *Education in England: Annual Report 2019*, pp. 10-12.
[184] 'Austerity reaches England's School Gates', *Financial Times*, 4 April 2017.
[185] Ofsted, *Merchants' Academy Inspection Report*, 2017, p. 1.
[186] Ofsted, *Merchants' Academy Inspection Report*, 2017, pp. 1-3, 5-7.
[187] Ofsted, *Merchants' Academy Inspection Report*, p. 4.

engaged with the school's performance, Ofsted surmised that they were becoming 'increasingly effective.'[188] Time and further analysis of exam results, central government spending, school inspections and archival documents will be needed to evaluate the impact of funding, national policy and SMV's leadership on the nature and quality of educational provision at Merchants' Academy.

Conclusion

This chapter positioned oral and institutional history together as a valuable method of analysis that resulted in increased historical insight into the national trend of voluntary organisations influencing provision of state-maintained education. Uniquely, this model favours a local context. Using a case study analysis of SMV revealed unknown outcomes of national policymaking in a local context, whilst contributing to the historical literature on public services, in this case education, and the voluntary sector. My research further demonstrated the way in which SMV, in imitation of the path of the central government before it, became a managerial provider of education through its role as sponsor and through providing governors at a South Bristol secondary school.

Historical examination of the academy policy underlines the intersection between the voluntary sector and public services, a significant theme of this thesis. New Labour initially focused on the private and philanthropic sponsorship of failing state-maintained inner-city secondary schools. The academy policy offered an opportunity for philanthropically-minded, locally-based organisations to use their specialised knowledge and resources to try to improve schools in their community. The application of their expertise (in SMV's case business and management) and a long-term commitment to a school made the sponsorship of an academy a social entrepreneurial endeavour. In the case of SMV, development into a professional academy sponsor also brought about a managerial style which saw SMV cede direct provision to teachers and Headteachers, whilst some members then held them responsible for challenges faced by the academy's students.

Case study analysis of the national academy policy 'on the ground' demonstrated that SMV's private-sector sector outlook influenced Merchants' Academy's development from the beginning. Interviewees recalled that SMV's relationship with London livery companies played a significant role in its decision to sponsor an academy. Relying on assistance and insight provided by fellow elite businesspeople, SMV set about creating an ethos for its new state-maintained school. Under the parameters of the academy policy SMV implemented an ethos similar to that of an independent school, including programmes that are often found in them. Oral history

[188] Ofsted, *Merchants' Academy Inspection Report*, p. 4.

interviews uncovered information otherwise unavailable to historical researchers or policymakers on the knowledge and understanding (or lack thereof) of sponsoring organisations towards state-maintained education. Through this medium I examined the establishment of a CCF programme, considered by some governors as an integral part of a well-rounded education. Oral history interviews further revealed that in pursuit of implementing a broad education, SMV introduced the academic IB qualification in the academy's sixth form. SMV's records and oral testimony suggested that neither the co-curricular activities nor the IB proved successful amongst pupils and teachers unfamiliar with extra, out-of-school activities nor the rigours of academic education. Therefore, my model of using local case study analysis (through institutional and oral history methodology) of national trends, in this case the academy policy, underlined the knowledge that gain be gained about the workings of policies in practice.

This model also contributed to an in-depth historical analysis of voluntary organisations and their role in welfare services, as outlined by central government policymaking. SMV's strength as a sponsor arguably lay in industry and networking, given its composition of businesspeople and leaders across Bristol. Thus, in addition to introducing new curriculum and extracurricular activities, SMV was seemingly well placed to implement dynamic careers education and work experience opportunities for the students at Merchants' Academy. However, lack of a coordinated approach between the school and members of SMV resulted in an ad-hoc system, still under development in 2017. SMV faced numerous challenges as sponsor due to the conflict of its vision with the standards and expectations of students. Nevertheless, SMV acted in accordance with the academy policy's aims; its choices were supported by central government and reflected brief trends in national educational policies that blurred the boundary between public and private-sector values and practices. Again, insight gleaned from looking at careers education was due to case study analysis of the intersection between the voluntary sector and public services in modern England.

Case study analysis of the academy policy in a local context draws out the complexity between public and private-sector actors, in this chapter providing an in-depth understanding of the way in which national policymaking operated 'on the ground'. Historians can further expand their understanding about the academy policy and the process of academisation on a local level by examining SMV's oversight of a Bristol independent school that converted into an academy.

Chapter Four

From Fee-paying to Free: An Independent School's Transformation into a State-maintained Academy

Introduction

As the previous chapter showed, in the early twenty-first century England's state-maintained secondary education sector was characterised by the growth of academies, schools managed independently of local authorities but funded by central government. In addition to altering radically the nature of existing publicly-funded educational provision, the initiative provided an avenue for a small number of independent schools to convert to academy status, thus receiving government funding and becoming free to pupils.[1] Independent education is relevant to the discussion of state provision in Bristol: by the 2000s the city ranked second for the highest number of private schools outside of London.[2] Bristol's healthy independent school sector was a testament to the poor quality of state-maintained education in the city, and the desire of middle-class parents with the means to do so, to obtain an education for their children via private provision.

SMV managed two out of the eleven mainstream independent schools in Bristol, Colston's School and Colston's Girls' School (CGS), the latter of which transitioned to the state-maintained sector in 2008. This chapter examines the effect of this transformation from the private to public sector on CGS and its sponsor, SMV, from 2008-2017. Having interests in both sectors resulted in a need for SMV to re-consider its goals and priorities for its educational provision. The exploration of the ensuing tension between SMV members over its philanthropic and private-sector interests contributes to the overarching discussion on SMV's transformation into a social entrepreneurial organisation over the past forty years.

This chapter then broadens out to analyse the wider consequences of academisation in Bristol. I argue that the recent history of state-maintained secondary education and independent schooling in Bristol are intertwined: as state-maintained education in Bristol improved, largely due to the academies programme, the city's independent sector contracted. The challenges of competition and the changing composition of Bristol's secondary-school sector underlines the value of using a local context to evaluate national policy and the rise of social entrepreneurial initiatives between 2000-2017.

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[1] Department for Education, *Open Academies and Academy Projects in Development* (2017) <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/open-academies-and-academy-projects-in-development; Department for Education, 'Fee Paying Schools Conversion to Free Schools', 2015; Independent Schools Council, *ISC Census 2015*, <https://www.isc.co.uk/media/2661/isc_census_2015_final.pdf>

[2] Polly Curtis, 'Private Schools: To Have and to Have Not', *Guardian*, 29 January 2008.

The many incarnations of Colston's Girls' School

Founded by SMV in 1891, CGS originally taught up to three hundred girls each paying a £5 per annum fee, as well as ten others from local elementary schools who had secured free places.[3] The number of free places increased to 25 per cent under the 1944 Education Act when CGS became a direct grant grammar school.[4] These schools were part independent and part grammar school, as they were self-managed and collected fees from seventy-five per cent of the student body. The remaining places went to students who had passed the eleven-plus examination and gained scholarships from the local authority. In 1945 the Bristol LEA perceived a need for more free grammar school places for girls in the city and subsequently removed CGS from the list of direct grant grammar schools, eliminating paid places.[5] As a result, CGS applied for voluntary-aided status. Under this arrangement SMV continued to own the school buildings and retained two thirds of the seats on the governing body, but the LEA paid for the school, held the remaining seats on the governing body and introduced the eleven-plus examination as the sole determinant of admission.[6] CGS' time as a voluntary-aided school proved to be short-lived. As the principle of comprehensive education gained political and popular support in the 1960s, the Bristol LEA sought to transform CGS into a non-selective school, taking girls from ages fourteen to eighteen from within a limited catchment area.[7] However, the school wished to maintain its structure and ethos, which included accepting aspirational girls at age eleven from across Bristol and the surrounding areas. CGS did not think its goals were achievable under the LEA's plan, so chose (with SMV's support) to become a fully independent fee-paying institution in 1966.[8]

In 1975, around a decade after CGS became independent, the Labour government under Harold Wilson abolished the remaining direct grant grammar schools.[9] The majority followed the same route as CGS; of the 154 direct grant grammar schools, 103 chose to become independent rather than comprehensive.[10] Rather than integrating the majority of these high-performing schools into the state sector, the abolition of these schools led to the creation of more independent

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[3] Patrick McGrath, *The Merchant Venturers of Bristol: A History of the Society of Merchant Venturers of the City of Bristol from its Origin to the Present Day* (Bristol: The Society of Merchant Venturers, 1975), p. 375.
[4] Andrew Rosen, *The Transformation of British Life, 1950-2000: A Social History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 68; Alice Sullivan and Anthony F. Heath, 'Intakes and Examination Results at State and Private Schools', in *British Private Schools: Research on Policy and Practice* ed. by Geoffrey Walford (London: Woburn Press, 2003), p. 84.
[5] Dunn, Sarah, Margaret Swindale and Jill Clough, *Colston's Girls' School: The First Hundred Years* (Bristol: Redcliffe Press, 1991), pp. 148, 156.
[6] Dunn et al, *Colston's Girls' School,* pp. 150-52, 154.
[7] Dunn et al, *Colston's Girls' School,* pp. 146, 180-81, 204.
[8] Colston's Girls' School, *School History* (2017) http://www.colstonsgirls.bristol.sch.uk/about-us/welcome/school-history/; Dunn et al, *Colston's Girls' School,* p. 185.
[9] Brian Salter and Ted Tapper, *Power and Policy in Education: The Case of Independent Schooling* (Lewes, East Sussex: The Falmer Press, 1985), pp. 118-119.
[10] Brian Simon, *Education and the Social Order, 1940-1990* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), p. 439.

schools.[11] The principle behind direct grant grammar schools never faded and its spirit was resurrected in 1980 though the Assisted Places Scheme which allowed selected pupils to attend independent schools at little or no cost to them, as the government paid for their place.[12] The programme was perceived by academics and commentators as a replacement for the direct grant grammar schools as new funding via the Assisted Places Scheme was made available five years after over one hundred direct grant schools converted into independent schools.[13] In practice, the scheme made it possible for more than half of former direct grant and voluntary-aided schools (including CGS) to benefit from state subsidies.[14] Thus, despite the Labour governments' earlier efforts to bolster state-maintained schools and minimise the independent schools sector, the 1979-1991 Conservative government's policymaking supported, rather than curtailed the private-education sector. In total, Assisted Places subsidised 30,000 of 500,000 places in the independent sector, a small but significant proportion when compared to the eight million students in the state sector.[15] These millions of students who did not receive Assisted Places were exposed to new policies designed to bring improvement to state-maintained schools and increase parental choice, competition and autonomy, as discussed in Chapter Three.

New Labour phased out Assisted Places in 1997 but preserved previous Conservative governments' policies relating to parent and pupil rights and school improvement.[16] LEAs continued to face a diminution of their role, though New Labour aimed to improve individual schools rather than systematically reduce local authority power.[17] As seen in Chapter Three, this goal led to the introduction of academies in 2000. The shifting boundary between public and private sectors that developed through the academy policy provided opportunities for philanthropic organisations and private businesses to introduce private-sector expertise into state-maintained secondary schools. CGS represented another aspect of the integration of private-sector

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[11] Ted Tapper, 'From Labour to New Labour: Bridging the Divide Between State and Private Schooling', in *British Private Schools: Research on Policy and Practice*, ed. by Geoffrey Walford (London: Woburn Press, 2003), p. 13.
[12] David Turner, *The Old Boys: The Decline and Rise of the Public Schools* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), p. 223; Simon, *Education and the Social Order*, p. 439; Department for Education and Science, *Education Act 1980: Chapter 20, Arrangement of Sections*, p. 18.
[13] Simon, *Education and the Social Order*, p. 439; Turner, *Old Boys*, p. 223.
[14] Funding went to less well-off students, as well as their more affluent middle-class peers. John Fitz, Tony Edwards and Geoff Whitty, 'The Assisted Places Scheme: An Ambiguous Case of Privatization', *British Journal of Educational Studies* 37:3 (1989), pp. 223, 225, 227-28; Nick Foskett and Jane Hemsley-Brown, 'Economic Aspirations, Cultural Replication and Social Dilemmas- Interpreting Parental Choice of British Private Schools' in *British Private Schools: Research on Policy and Practice* ed. by Geoffrey Walford (London: Woburn Press, 2003), p. 206.
[15] Adonis, Andrew, *Education, Education, Education: Reforming England's Schools,* (London: Biteback Publications, 2012), pp. 155-56.
[16] Alan Smithers, 'Schools', in Anthony Seldon (ed.) *Blair's Britain 1997 – 2007* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 369, 371; Tapper, 'Labour and New Labour', p. 19.
[17] Labour Party*, General Election Manifesto,* 'Educational Policy', (London: Labour Party), 1997; Kendall, Ian and David Holloway, 'Educational Policy' in *Public Policy Under Blair* ed. by Stephen P. Savage and Rob Atkinson (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p. 162.

expertise into state-maintained services. Rather than attempting to instil a new ethos into an existing state school, CGS directly transferred its ingrained ethos, history and private-sector practices into the state-maintained sector.

Over the course of its forty years in the independent sector CGS forged an identity for itself. SMV believed that at the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first, the school was seen in the community as 'friendly' with 'good language and music facilities and rising academic standards'.[18] The governing body believed the selling points of CGS as an independent school were its history and traditions, ethnic mix (with a large population of Muslim students), and 'a strong moral code of old-fashioned principles of respect, manners and good behaviour'.[19] Former school leaders believed that CGS had developed a distinctive character based on aspiration and personal betterment. A former headteacher, Judith Franklin, recalled that CGS 'was never a school for intensely privileged girls,' and that some families 'were scraping together their last pennies to get the girls into the school because they cared about their education.'[20] This perception was shared by a former Chairman of the governing body, Robert McKinlay:

> We weren't drawing in students from rich parents who wanted an education for their child. We were drawing in girls where the parents were operating a bit at the margins but they wanted a good education and they didn't think they were going to get it from the state schools.[21]

Another interviewee agreed:

> The reality was that most of our parents were individuals who knew they didn't want to be in the state sector initially within Bristol because it was not providing high quality [education] but on the other side, couldn't actually afford to be in the independent sector.[22]

Statistics compiled by SMV supported these leaders' impressions. By 1999, 198 of the pupils at CGS, or 45 per cent of the student body, were on Assisted Places.[23] Given the high proportion of students in receipt of aid, one can conclude that CGS was a school that attracted many non-wealthy parents. Otherwise consigned to Bristol's under-performing LEA schools, Assisted Places made

[18] MH, BoP 46, *Standing Committee*, 2 March 2001, p. 18.
[19] CGS Governing Body, *North Bristol Institute Working Group*, 29 September 2004; Judith Franklin Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 15 February 2017. Franklin was headmistress at Colston's Girls' School from 1989-2003 and oversaw many of the changes that occurred during that era such as the end of Assisted Places. She has remained engaged with the school and produced a short history of it prior to its conversion to an academy; Robert McKinlay Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 15 February 2017. McKinlay is a Merchant Venturer and was a governor of Colston's Girls' School from around 1993 and the Chair from 1997 to 2002. He spent his career at BAE Systems and was managing director in the 1990s.
[20] Judith Franklin Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 15 February 2017.
[21] Robert McKinlay Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 15 February 2017.
[22] Trevor Smallwood Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 27 February 2017. Smallwood was a governor of CGS from 2001 and the Chair of Governors during the process of academisation. He is involved with the primary schools under the CGS Trust and was Master of the Society in 2008-2009.
[23] MH, BoP 45, *Standing Committee*, 29 April 1999, pp. 283-4; MH, BoP 46, *Standing Committee*, 2 March 2001, p. 18.

schools like CGS accessible to parents who sought to secure a high-quality education for their children.

The end of the Assisted Places Scheme in 1997 significantly impacted CGS. With nearly half of the students on Assisted Places, the phase-out precipitated a financial loss at the school.[24] Bristol's private education market at the turn of the twenty-first century was highly competitive with four other independent girls' schools and CGS could not attract sustainable numbers of full fee-paying students to the school to replace those who had received aid. CGS was certainly not the only independent school facing financial challenges and struggling to recruit pupils. In addition to the end of Assisted Places, it was one of many girls' schools across England to face competition from boys' schools that began to accept girls into their sixth forms and secondary schools from the end of the twentieth century. For example, the introduction of co-education into the nearby (then independent), all boys' Bristol Cathedral Choir School (BCCS) in 2005 placed CGS under further strain.[25] Different options for survival were considered, first within the independent school sector.

In order to keep the school open but remain privately maintained, CGS and SMV considered joining the Girls' Day School Trust (GDST), a charity and limited company that oversaw a network of independent girls' schools.[26] The prime benefit of becoming part of the Trust was the level of financial security it could offer the school.[27] However, as a corporate body the GDST would take control of CGS assets and SMV did not want to relinquish its ownership of school property. SMV was also concerned about a possible lowering of the entry requirements and resultant change in the composition of the student body.[28] Given these concerns discussions with the GDST did not advance and CGS chose to remain part of Bristol's competitive independent schools market.

However, CGS ultimately found a way to retain its independence and to receive government funding. New Labour's academy initiative encouraged independent schools to apply to 'opt in' to the state-maintained sector in local authorities where such schools could increase the

[24] MH, BoP 45, *Standing Committee,* 29 April 1999, pp. 283-284; MH, BoP 46*, Standing Committee*, 2 March 2001, p. 18.
[25] Lesley Ann Jones Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon 7 March 2017. Jones was the Head of Colston's Girls' School from 2003 – 2013 and oversaw the transition to academy status as well as the addition of the Dolphin Primary school; Irene Fox, *Private Schools and Public Issues: The Parents' View* (London: Macmillan Press, 1985), p. 24; 'Girls to Break Boys-only School Rule After 800 Years', *Bristol Evening Post*, 14 May 2004, p.43; Private Papers of Judith Franklin, 'Academy Status', 2007.
[26] Girls' Day School Trust, *About Us*, (2017) <https://www.gdst.net/about-us>
[27] Judith Franklin Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon on 15 February 2017; Robert McKinlay Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon on 15 February 2017.
[28] MH, BoP 45, *Standing Committee*, 29 April 1999, pp. 283-284; MH, BoP 45, *Standing Committee*, 25 June 1999, pp. 294-295.

number of high-quality school places available to a diverse range of children.[29] CGS met this criteria and in 2008 it became a girls' secondary academy and sixth form specialising in languages.[30] As a philanthropic organisation expanding its social entrepreneurial profile, SMV intended that CGS' morals, traditions and history would transfer to the state-maintained sector. At the same time, new government funding provided for an upgrade of the school facilities and expansion in the number of students attending. Approximately ten years on it is possible to more closely evaluate the effect academisation has had on SMV, as sponsor, on examination performance and ethos at CGS as well as on Bristol's LEA and other state-maintained secondary schools in the city. First, we examine the effect of CGS' conversion on pupils and the nature of the school itself before looking at the role of SMV, and finally the LEA's response to CGS' transition to the state-maintained sector.

CGS as an academy

An examination of academic performance and provision at CGS before and after becoming an academy in 2008 adds to our historical knowledge on the convergence between public and private sectors in England's contemporary education sector. Academisation, as we will see, allowed more girls to join a school with new facilities, high performance at GCSE level and rising standards in the academy's sixth form. CGS was also seen to benefit. Upwards of seven million pounds from the central government allowed CGS to construct a new arts block and renovate and upgrade existing buildings.[31] The structural improvements and subsequent expansion allowed the academy to increase its roll from 350 to over 700 pupils in eight years. By 2016 CGS had doubled the number of students it educated and was able to do this without charging any fees. The student body was diverse. By 2016, 20 per cent of students spoke a first language other than English and 23 per cent had been eligible for free school meals at any time since 2010.[32] CGS has proved popular without the barrier of fees – it has been heavily oversubscribed every year since

[29] 'Academy call for Private Schools', *BBC News*, 14 May 2007; *Department for Education and Skills*, 'Higher Standards Better Schools for All', 2005b; David Marley, 'We're moving stateside', *The Times Educational Supplement*, 3 August 2007, p. 7.
[30] MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee,* 30 March 2007, pp. 8-9.
[31] MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee*, 30 March 2007, p. 8.
[32] Colston's Girls' School, 'Pupil Population', (2016) https://www.compare-school-performance.service.gov.uk/school/135581?tab=absence-and-pupil-population

becoming an academy.[33]

The transition of CGS from the independent to the state-maintained sector has allowed SMV to widen its social entrepreneurial engagement, applying its members' experience of governing a private school to Bristol's state-maintained sector. Likewise, the academisation of CGS allowed the high expectations and GCSE examination results from the independent school to carry over and to reach a range of girls with varying abilities. Ofsted applauded the high-quality academic and personal achievement made by pupils at CGS in 2010, stating that 'the girls make outstanding progress in their learning and attain standards that are exceptionally high.'[34] Ofsted's findings were supported by examination results published in school league tables. While between 2000-2008 an average of 94 per cent of students achieved five A*-C GCSEs including English and mathematics, results fell slightly when the academy intake started, with 87 per cent on average achieving five A*-C GCSEs including English and mathematics between 2009-2015.[35] While still successful results, part of the dip may have been due to the change in composition of the student body, demonstrating that new girls with different levels of ability, attainment and educational background had joined the school. CGS' GCSE scores compared favourably to the local authority who averaged 33 per cent attainment between 2000-2008.[36] (See Figure 4.1 below). After CGS became an academy, students at the school consistently achieved GCSE results thirty to forty percentage points higher than the local authority average and twenty to thirty per cent higher than England's average for attainment of five A*-C GCSEs including English and mathematics.[37]

[33] 'Bristol secondary schools see rise in applications from city families; Bristol looks set to reverse the trend of pupils going outside the city's borders for secondary education this year', *Bristol Evening Post*, 3 March 2009, p. 4; 'These are the Most Oversubscribed Secondary Schools in Bristol, Appeals and What to do Next', *Bristol Post*, 2 March 2017, pp. 4-5; Bristol City Council, 'A Guide for Parents and Carers on Applying for a Secondary School Place for the School Year 2017-2018,' p. 37; Bristol.gov.uk, 'Colston's Girls' School: Admissions and Appeal Information 2016', (2016) p. 37. <https://www.bristol.gov.uk/documents/20182/34224/Bristol+Secondary+Schools+A+to+Z/bb1eb736-ce9e-4c28-849f-5c664cb3e661>.

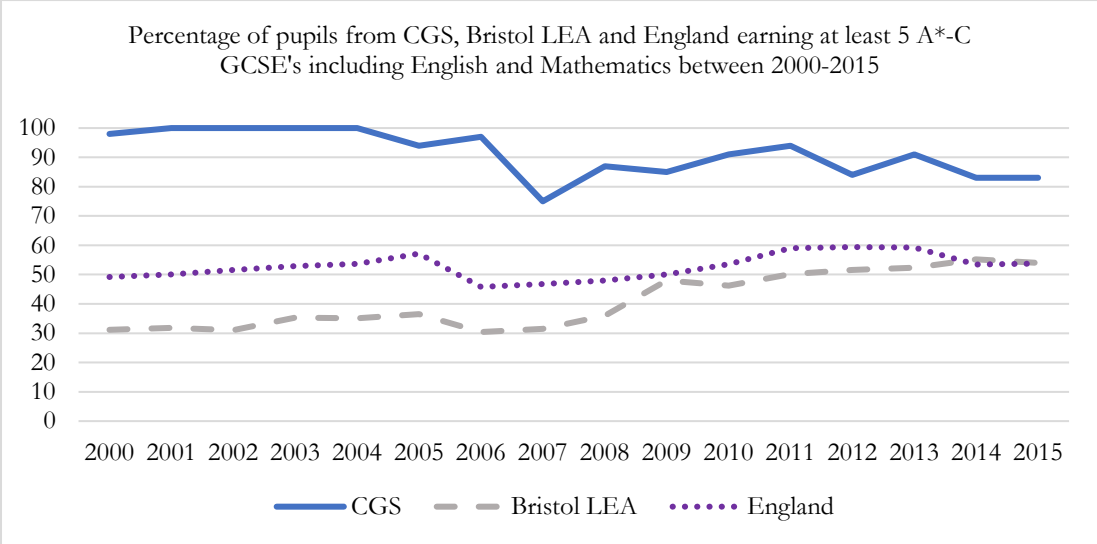
[34] Ofsted, *Colston's Girls' School Inspection Report, 2010*, pp. 4-5.

[35] Department for Education, *School and College Performance Tables: Colston's Girls' School* 2008-2014, (2017) <http://www.education.gov.uk/cgibin/schools/performance/archive/school_10.pl?No=8016909&Mode=Z&Type=SC&Phase=1&Year=10&Begin=s&Base=b&Num=801>

[36] Department for Education, *School and College Performance Tables: Colston's Girls' School* 2000-2008, (2017) <http://www.education.gov.uk/cgibin/schools/performance/archive/group_08.pl?Mode=Z&No=801&Base=b&Type=LA&Begin=s&Phase=1&Year=08>

[37] DfE, *Performance Tables: Colston's Girls' School,* 2008-2014.

Figure 4.1



Source: Department for Education, *School Performance Tables: Colston's Girls' School* 2008-2014, (2017) http://www.education.gov.uk/cgibin/schools/performance/archive/school_10.pl?No=8016909&Mode=Z&Type=SC&Phase=1&Year=10&Begin=s&Base=b&Num=801; *The Telegraph*, Education, 'GCSE School League Tables 2015: Compare your school's performance', (2015) https://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/2016/03/28/gcse-school-league-tables-2015-compare-your-schools-performance/

New performance measurements unveiled in 2016 similarly demonstrated the achievement of students at CGS. The Progress 8 score indicated that girls progressed above the national average between Key Stage 2 and Key Stage 4.[38] The Attainment 8 score (which measures how well pupils perform in up to eight subjects) showed that CGS achieved 57.6 points, above the LEA average of 47.7 and England at 48.5.[39] CGS maintained its high standards throughout the process of academisation and continued to compare favourably against local and national performance on league tables.

Whilst acknowledging the results of high-achievers at CGS, Ofsted also praised the school's provision for less-able students:

> A significant strength of the academy is the way in which it identifies differing ability groups, thus enabling the most able girls to gain the highest grades possible and yet successfully supporting those who find learning more challenging to achieve examination results to be proud of.[40]

Students with Special Educational Needs (SEN) have particularly benefitted from CGS' conversion. As an independent school, CGS did not offer SEN provision. As an academy, CGS offered a special curriculum to children with unique needs and learning difficulties. The girls joined their peers in all of their courses outside of the core subjects of mathematics, English and

[38] Gov.uk, 'Compare School and College Performance: Colston's Girls' School 2016', (2016) <https://www.compare-school-performance.service.gov.uk/school/135581>
[39] Gov.uk, 'Compare Colston's Girls' School 2016'.
[40] Ofsted, *Colston's Girls' School School Inspection Report*, 2010, p. 5.

humanities. For these courses SEN pupils were taught specialised curriculum in a small group setting.[41] After a year or two a few girls switched to the mainstream curriculum with the rest of their year group but others, with the most serious challenges, continued learning in a specialised setting.

Girls in Bristol and the surrounding area most perceptibly benefitted from CGS' conversion through access to free, high-quality, comprehensive education and the use of new, purpose-built facilities. Yet integration into the state sector not only brought changes perceived as advantages to students and the quality of state-maintained secondary education in Bristol, but also to the physical fabric of CGS itself and the reputation of its sixth form. Funding from the central government went to the improvement of infrastructure while rising rolls from ages eleven to fourteen precipitated a fresh approach to recruitment and ethos of post-sixteen education at CGS.

The sixth form of the independent CGS was recalled by former headteacher Franklin: 'It is important to stress that neither at GCSE nor at A-level did the school indulge in the habit of withdrawing unpromising students from subjects they might fail.'[42] Less academically capable students entered the sixth form, which made it inclusive for all who wanted to pursue further study, but did not create a culture of high academic attainment. That is not to say that students at the sixth form did not achieve levels of success; the average point score for A-levels per student at CGS was above the local authority and national average in the years before academisation. (See Figure 4.2 below.) However, the average score was significantly lower than that of the other independent girls' schools in Bristol.[43] The culture of the sixth form suggested a sense of inclusion, but it was driven by the small student numbers associated with the independent school. Therefore, the ethos may have been created as a response to financial circumstances at that time. The sixth form lost girls to both state-maintained and independent competitors and it was not financially viable for CGS to raise the entry requirements which might have resulted in the further loss of potential pupils.[44] As a result CGS had more flexible admission requirements to accommodate a larger number of girls which would lead to more income and help the sixth form to run more efficiently.

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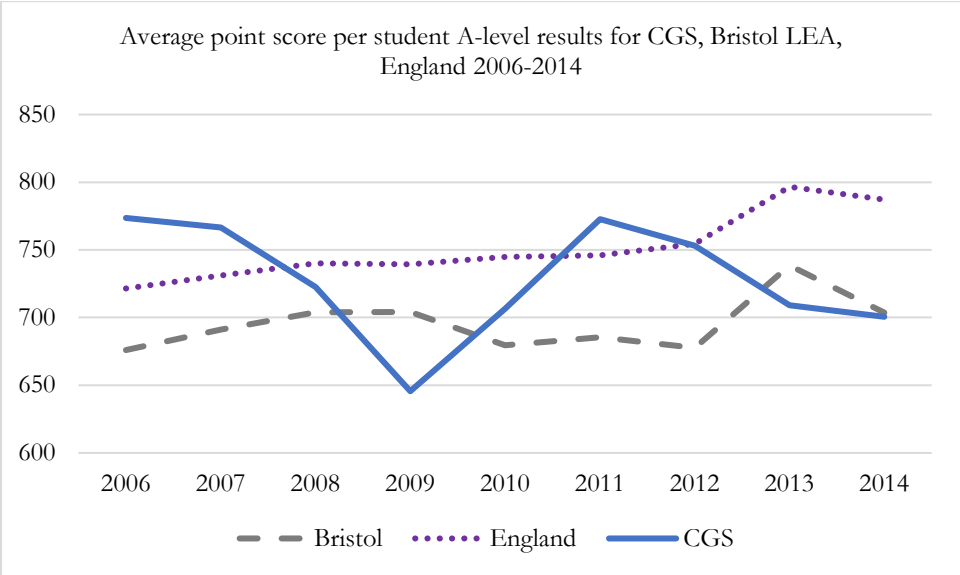
[41] Lesley Ann Jones Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 7 March 2017.
[42] Private Papers of Judith Franklin, 'The Learning', 2007.
[43] In 2007 the average A-level score at CGS was 766.6 compared to a local authority average of 691.2 and England's average of 731.2. The highest scoring girls' independent school was Badminton School with a score of 1029.5. Department for Education, *School and College Performance Tables City of Bristol*, 2007; <http://www.education.gov.uk/cgibin/schools/performance/archive/group_07.pl?Mode=Z&No=801&Base=a&Type=LA&Phase=2&Year=07>
[44] Minutes from Meeting of Governing Body of CGS Trust, *Community Committee*, 1 October 2008, pp. 2-3; Private Papers of Judith Franklin, 'The Market', 2007.

The move away from this model of operation took time. In 2012, the governing body, which included SMV members, conceded that the low entry requirements to the sixth form were allowing students onto courses for which they were not suited. It felt that 'a significant contributory factor was compromising on the standard of girls being admitted to ensure financial security and maintain expertise in certain subjects with small numbers e.g. Latin and music.'[45] CGS adjusted the admission criteria for the sixth form in 2013, when the first group to join the academy at Year Seven (in 2008) reached Year Eleven.[46] Due to the increase in the numbers of girls on the school roll the potential pool for applicants to the sixth form was larger. Therefore, CGS' sixth form was able to focus on recruiting academically-able students rather than simply taking on girls who would bring funding.[47]

Figure 4.2



Source: Department for Education, *School Performance Tables: Colston's Girls' School* 2006-2014, (2017)<http://www.education.gov.uk/cgibin/schools/performance/archive/school_10.pl?No=8016909&Mode=Z&Type=SC&Phase=1&Year=10&Begin=s&Base=b&Num=801>

CGS' conversion from independent school to academy increased opportunities for girls to attend a school that met New Labour's aspirations for academies: having spent over forty years in the private sector, its integration into Bristol's maintained system epitomised the social entrepreneurial academy principle of an 'independently-run, state-maintained' school. For CGS,

[45] Minutes from Meeting of Governing Body of CGS Trust, *Education Committee*, 11 October 2012, p. 2.
[46] Minutes from Meeting of Governing Body of CGS Trust, *Community Committee*, 14 June 2012.
[47]The measurements for A-level results changed in 2006 and in 2015, thus the graph represents A-results in the intervening years. In 2015 the average score at CGS was a C or 31.24 points, compared to an LEA average of 30.18 and an England average of 31.79. Department for Education, *School and College Performance Tables City of* Bristol, 2015 <https://www.compareschoolperformance.service.gov.uk/schoolsbytype?step=phase&region=801&geographic=la&phase=16to18>

becoming part of the state-maintained sector allowed it to increase its enrolment and raise standards at sixth-form level. However, CGS' integration into the state-maintained sector was not well-received from some parts of the community, and indeed to some extent, within SMV itself. Although CGS' conversion allowed SMV to expand its social entrepreneurial engagement – as the academy's sponsor it used private-sector expertise to assist with the running and management of the school – the transformation proved controversial amongst some of the Merchants. SMV members had differing expectations for CGS' role in Bristol's secondary education sector which resulted in intra-organisational tension, particularly after 2011 when CGS considered an expansion. The next section analyses this tension before looking at a wider conflict between SMV and the LEA over the role of private-sector values in the provision of state-maintained education in Bristol.

Playing favourites

Since its conversion to an academy CGS has been a point of pride for SMV. But some interviewees perceived that prior to academisation the school had not always received recognition or consideration from the almost entirely male membership of SMV. A comparison of SMV's priorities and prevailing outlook for CGS in the early 1990s versus the mid-2010s underlines SMV's transformation from gentlemen's social club to a more active social entrepreneurial organisation. Widening the analyses to include the changing relationship between SMV, CGS and Colston's School underscores the complex and competing interests that arise when a philanthropic organisation engages in public services, yet also holds private-sector interests.

Both a Chair of Governors and Headteacher of CGS in the 1990s recalled feeling disengaged from SMV at the time, perceiving its membership to have been more concerned with Colston's Boys' than Colston's Girls' School. One interviewee recalled that, 'the relationship between the [girls'] school and the Society was not ideal at all.'[48] Friction between the two schools and between CGS and SMV appeared particularly prevalent after 1991 when Colston's Boys' School merged with an all girls' school, Winterbourne Collegiate School. Judith Franklin, a former headteacher at CGS recalled that prior to that merger, SMV unexpectedly gave CGS the choice to close or to merge with Colston's School.[49] CGS chose to do neither. However, continuing to operate independently of Colston's School was not an easy task. Franklin remembered the circumstances at the time:

[48] Anonymous Interviewee I, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 24 May 2016.
[49] Judith Franklin Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 15 February 2017.

> [I]t was always difficult because basically we felt that as we were supposed to be under the Merchants' sort of overall benevolence, [and] that one school tried to get girls when the other school couldn't get boys, that it was a bit unfair.[50]

Robert McKinlay, a former Chairman of Governors expressed a similar viewpoint:

> So in fact we were two schools, both owned, if that's the right word by the Merchants, certainly under the trust of the Merchants but they were actually competing with each other. The Merchants at large tended to think, 'oh no the Colston's School is in a different pool from the Colston's Girls' School.' I don't think that was true. I think we were actually overlapping. So we were competing with each other.[51]

Although the Standing Committee stated in 1991 that it 'hoped that because of the different characters and locations of the two schools they [Colston's School] would not be in direct competition for girls', Franklin and McKinlay did not believe SMV engaged in active support of CGS.[52]

The notion of ownership in McKinlay's statement implied an element of SMV oversight at CGS, though the nature of such oversight was circumspect. SMV owned the site but both Franklin and McKinlay were uncertain how to categorise SMV's involvement with CGS. Both also felt there was an element of competition between the schools that was exacerbated by SMV's lack of understanding of the respective roles played by Colston's School and CGS in the Bristol independent schooling sector.

The reasons for SMV's lack of engagement with CGS are certainly debateable, but McKinlay speculated:

> There was a tendency to be protagonists for each side. Not all that many for the girls' school I must say…I think there was - it was a pretty male organisation at the time. The Merchants. There were no lady members at that time. So there was a feeling for the Colston's School, Colston's Boys' School which they understood. The girls' school had a bit of a chequered history. Because it started privately, had been in state hands, then it came back into Merchants' hands. So it had a bit of a history of being one thing and then another. I wouldn't say it wasn't understood, but wasn't understood as well as the boys' school in that way.[53]

McKinlay's observation depicted an organisation that worked well with what it knew and had control over, such as private education for males and SMV's long-term philanthropic commitments. That CGS was not always under SMV's control raises questions over aspects of ownership and engagement. One cannot know if the changing status of CGS played a key role in

[50] Judith Franklin Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 15 February 2017.
[51] The language of ownership first arose in relation to the proposal to enter the Girls' Day School Trust, when SMV did not want to relinquish its ownership of the school and its site. Though now an academy, SMV retains ownership of the CGS site. Robert McKinlay Interview, recorded 15 February 2017.
[52] MH, BoP 44, *Standing Committee*, 24 January 1991, p. 176.
[53] Robert McKinlay Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 15 February 2017.

its alienation from SMV, but CGS had been independent since 1966, giving SMV members ample time to have become familiar with it prior to the tensions that occurred in 1991. It is possible that the lack of historical connection and engagement across generations created a culture of apathy towards CGS, but the then men-only nature of SMV must also be considered. At the time Franklin and McKinlay were in post at CGS SMV was, as we saw in Chapter Two, an exclusive social club, closed to women and still dominated by inward-looking men determined to maintain tradition and the status-quo. Such men tended to prioritise the boys' school and girls' education appeared beyond many members' understanding and interest. Therefore, the relationship between CGS and SMV prior to CGS' academisation and the admission of women and professionals shows that the membership of local philanthropic organisations can have a practical impact on the nature of service it provided.

The situation started to change in the early 2000s. As discussed in Chapter Two, SMV membership expanded to include women and men from a diverse range of backgrounds, and SMV became more actively involved in philanthropy. In addition to grant-making, some members began to offer their time and knowledge to government initiatives aimed at improving the quality of local state-maintained services. Members first participated in this social entrepreneurial process through the foundation of Merchants' Academy. SMV's long-term commitment to a public service through both the establishment of Merchants' Academy and CGS' successful conversion from an independent to a state-maintained school was evidence of a significant change in its approach to education. By 2008 SMV appointed governors to one independent school and two state-maintained secondary academies. Thus, it appeared to embrace the shifting boundary between public and private sectors offered by the social entrepreneurial academy initiative.

Further participation in the state-maintained secondary education sector appeared to be on the horizon in 2010. Two years after converting to an academy, CGS considered taking over a failing independent secondary school called St Ursula's. After the number of students on its roll fell below two hundred St Ursula's explored the idea of academy status. It subsequently entered into discussions with CGS over the possibility of establishing a co-educational primary academy and secondary academy for boys on the site.[54] The plan would have allowed for SMV to expand its social entrepreneurial work by providing private-sector knowledge and practices to boys, an option unavailable at CGS. But the plan never came to fruition. SMV withdrew after failing to reach an agreement with the community and city councillors over a catchment zone and the

[54] 'State Plan Boost for Private School', *Bristol Evening Post,* 14 April 2010, p. 17; Trevor Smallwood Interview, recorded 27 February 2017.

proposed single-sex nature of the school.[55] However, conflict also resulted from intra-organisational tension over social entrepreneurial engagements versus traditional SMV commitments and values.

The issue of a catchment zone for a new school led to contention between SMV members, with CGS governors and the governors of Colston's School in disagreement over suitable boundaries from which to draw potential students. The governors of Colston's School argued that their school had recruited between 10 and 15 per cent of students from the neighbourhood around St Ursula in 2009 and anticipated that the figure would rise to 23 per cent in 2010. It was not clear whether the forecasted rise was due to the decline of St Ursula's or a growing interest in Colston's School from students in the maintained sector.[56] Nonetheless, not every SMV member agreed with Colston's School's assessment of its catchment area. CGS governor Anthony Brown reflected:

> I know that Colston's felt that that was a further challenge to [them], that we were taking more children potentially out of the middle-class area of St Ursula's who *might* have gone to Colston's. Although one has to say that we did not feel that Henleaze and Stoke Bishop was the natural catchment area for Colston's School. And so there was some feeling about that. And they, [governors of Colston's School] they made the point that even if it wasn't the natural catchment there would be one or two who came from there and if every single one gives an extra £12,000 of fees or whatever it is towards the running of the school.[57]

Brown's interpretation of Colston's School's governors' motives for opposing a new catchment area for a potential collaboration between St Ursula's and CGS suggested that they did not expect large-scale recruitment from the neighbourhood but hoped to attract a few students who would be able to pay fees and contribute financially to Colston's School. Any threat to its recruitment strategy was opposed, putting it at odds with CGS' goal of expanding high-quality, free education.

Indeed, Colston's School felt the neighbourhood in which St Ursula's was located was an important supplier of students and the governors believed that, 'any successful academy within this catchment area could have an adverse effect on it.'[58] Their broad concern over 'any *successful* academy' [my emphasis] indicated that at that point in time there was no existing state school that posed a threat to Colston's School's recruitment. St Ursula's and Colston's School were situated

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[55] 'School Merger Draws yet More Opposition', *Bristol Evening Post*, 22 May 2010, p. 5; 'MP Quits her role as St Ursula's Governor', *Bristol Evening Post*, 26 May 2010, p. 4.
[56] Merchants' Hall, BoP 47, *Standing Committee*, 27 March 2010, p. 158.
[57] Anthony Brown Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 7 March 2017.
[58] Fred Forse and Martin Tayler Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon 9 June 2017. Fred Forse has been heavily involved with Colston's School over his life. He was a student at Colston's School between 1957 and 1962, sent his own children to the school as well as acting as Chairman of the rugby club and President of the Old Colstonian Society. Martin Tayler was appointed as a teacher in 1968 and retired in 2007, though he continued managing the school's website and IT system as well as acting as a photographer.
MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee*, 26 March 2010, p. 158.

three and a half miles apart with the state-maintained Fairfield High School located between them and within a mile and a half of Colston's School. (See Figure 4.3)

Figure 4.3 Map showing the location of Colston's School, CGS and St Ursula's

Source: Google maps

However, Fairfield High School's intake of less-affluent students and its lower results did not make it a rival to Colston's School.[59] The lack of a viable state-school competitor allowed Colston's School to draw pupils from a large area into its fee-paying provision. A new school, one that was free to attend and potentially high performing, would threaten Colston's School's recruitment strategy by siphoning pupils away from the independent sector. Therefore, governors were concerned with the potential development of a high-performing academy that might attract the same profile of pupils as their school. Viewed from that perspective, the opposition to the farther away St Ursula's is placed in context.

Perhaps more significantly, Colston's School's governors were concerned about being in competition with their SMV peers at CGS. If an external provider took over St Ursula's, or Fairfield High School attracted large numbers of Colston's School's potential pupils, the governors for that school would have to react to the competition. But if their fellow SMV members instigated improvement of another school they could proactively put forward their own interests, even if these contravened SMV's developing social entrepreneurial purpose to employ private-sector

[59] In 2010 Fairfield High School achieved GCSE results above the LEA but below the national average. Two thirds of the children were SEN students and the percentage of students on Free School Meals (FSM) was higher than average. Ofsted, *Fairfield High School Inspection Report*, 10 November 2008, pp. 3-4; Department for Education, *School and College Performance Tables 2010: Local Authority: Bristol, City* of, (2010) <http://www.education.gov.uk/cgibin/schools/performance/archive/group_10.pl?Mode=Z&Type=LA&Begin=s&No=801&Base=g&Phase=1&F=1&L=50&Year=10&Key=4&Order=asc>

expertise for public benefit. In this instance, some members' opposition to CGS' expansion was at the expense of pupils who might have gained access to free, high-quality education through the CGS ethos.

The influence of 'third way' policymaking and SMV members' increased interest in social entrepreneurial initiatives were visible in the disagreement between CGS and Colston's School over catchment zones and competition between schools. The dispute evoked Franklin and McKinlay's recollections on the friction between the two schools twenty years previously, but this time, the schools' positions had been reversed. CGS aimed to expand its provision, while Colston's School tried to defend its interests. Circumstances furthered differed from 1991 as both schools had then belonged to the independent sector, while in 2010, SMV acted as a sponsor to two state-maintained secondary schools, making Colston's School the outlier. The added factor of competition between state-maintained education and private schooling emphasised Colston's School's drive to protect its private-sector interests at the expense of public benefit.

Members of SMV and leaders of the schools expressed a variety of opinions on an admissions policy for a new academy but significant to this discussion is the way in which SMV acted as both as a private-sector business and a social entrepreneurial organisation. With more state-maintained schools than independent ones under its purview following the conversion of CGS and the sponsorship of Merchants' Academy, SMV had made clear its intention to continue and expand its operations as a social entrepreneurial provider of public services.[60] The academies initiative was intended to and has allowed non-statutory organisations to introduce private-sector expertise into the public sphere. In Bristol, academies have bolstered the reputation of state-maintained schools and given the programme credibility; their foundation coincided with a reduction in the number of independent schools in the city. However, what can be viewed as improvements to Bristol's state-maintained sector by proponents of CGS and the academy policy were less well received by the LEA and defenders of its interests.

'Self-preservation'? Local opposition to CGS as an academy

Members of the community as well as the Bristol LEA were concerned about the effect CGS' conversion would have other state-maintained secondary schools in the city, with the announcement of its transition generating a number of newspaper articles and opinion pieces. An article printed in the *Bristol Evening Post* in 2007 entitled 'Academy will help Families' presented a positive reaction to the news. The writer believed the conversion would benefit Bristol residents by providing them with access to a 'traditional "private" school education as part of the state

[60] MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee*, 27 May 2010, pp. 169-70.

system.'[61] Another resident acknowledged that the new academy would increase choice and raise the examination results for the city but expressed concerns that CGS's popularity would lead to a surplus of places in neighbouring comprehensives and potentially result in the closure of a local authority school.[62] This argument was echoed by another contributor who believed the new academy 'must not be allowed to put existing secondaries at risk.'[63] Access to high-quality education for more children was regarded by the first writer as a positive development but was viewed by the following two contributors as a threat to existing, (and in the case of Bristol in the 2000s), predominately under-performing schools.

Bristol LEA's actions or lack thereof, prior to CGS' conversion indicated that it shared the view of doubtful local residents. In the early 2000s Bristol City Council's left-wing outlook clashed with the Labour central government and its centre-left position supporting 'what works' through social entrepreneurial involvement in the provision of education. Though sponsored academies such as Merchants' Academy were already becoming part of the state-maintained educational sector, the proposed integration of a private school renewed tensions between traditional LEA values and private-sector interests. The nature of the conflict is best understood through the lens of entrenched principles for both public and private providers. LEA maintained schools are typically characterized as being community focused with services tailored to the wider population rather than one group or neighbourhood. In theory, decisions are made for the good of the community rather than the provider or producer.[64] The LEA may not prioritise broadening its ambition (being generally comfortable with the status-quo), meeting targets on an aggressive timescale or increasing its public profile.[65] Conversely, the private sector is ambitious, driven by market considerations and is outcome focused and product oriented.[66] These generalisations fit the mould of the conflict between Bristol's LEA and SMV over CGS' conversion from independent school to academy.

As seen through the poor quality of its provision in the late 1990s and into the 2000s, Bristol's LEA historically favoured the security of teaching jobs and existing schools rather than potential improvement through policies such as a competitive market and academisation. The city council's entrenched institutional view of state maintained and state-provided education resulted

[61] 'Academy Will Help Families', *Bristol Evening Post*, 3 July 2007, p. 10.
[62] 'Opening the Gates', *Bristol Evening Post*, 3 July 2007.
[63] 'Fears Over Private Bids', *Bristol Evening Post*, 19 September 2007.
[64] A producer driven system is one in which the provider of a service makes decisions and takes actions based on what is best for them, rather than the users of the services. Richard Pring, *The Life and Death of Secondary Education for All* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), p. 154.
[65] Allen Andres quoted in Christopher Green, *Privatisation of State Education: Public Partners, Private Dealings* (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 179.
[66] Green, *Privatisation of State Education,* p. 179.

in inertia and reluctance to embrace New Labour's policies towards converter academies like CGS in 2007.[67] Explanations for LEA reticence to academisation can be further explained through research by educationalists. Richard Pring stated that the increase in numbers of academies would create surplus places in LEA schools and 'undermine essential local services.'[68] Paul Miller also argued that the establishment of academies and free schools would disrupt the LEA planning process and lead to excess places that 'could force the closure of other neighbouring schools or result in job losses at them.'[69] Of course, this was the intended result of the academies initiative – to force less popular LEA schools to close or improve so as to remain competitive with high-performing schools. Adding to entrenched educationalist and LEA opposition towards academies and to CGS in particular, was the fact that CGS was not a state-maintained school. It was an independent school. Upon CGS' conversion the under-performing LEA schools would be directly compared to a high-performing, independently-run secondary school, highlighting a stark contrast in the provision offered by the two types of provider.

Bristol LEA's position was seen by some of those involved with CGS' conversion to reflect Pring and Miller's ideological arguments: self-preservation prohibited school improvement and the subsequent delivery of high-quality services to parents and students. A 2007 letter from SMV's Treasurer to then Schools Minister Andrew Adonis revealed SMV's frustration with the LEA, which it believed was hindering progress of CGS' conversion. The letter stated:

> As you may know there has been some delay in moving forward our proposal to convert Colston's Girls' School into an Academy to serve the wider Bristol community and to help improve the overall quality of education within the City's maintained sector. The nub of the "problem" seems to lie with the LEA who, following our meeting with them earlier this month, appeared to perceive the proposal as a threat rather than an opportunity with more disadvantages than advantages.[70]

An interviewee offered a similar narrative:

> Our view was that there will indeed be competition but that will provide an incentive to the other schools to raise their game. But they didn't see it as that…they saw this as competition that would undermine the state system in this city because they thought kids would not go to the local state school down the road which was failing, because they'd want to go to Colston's Girls' School, which was free and a much better school.[71]

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[67] Bristol.gov.uk, *Secondary Admissions*, (2015) <https://www.bristol.gov.uk/documents/20182/34224/Bristol+Secondary+Schools+A+to+Z/bb1eb736-ce9e-4c28-849f-5c664cb3e661>

[68] Pring, *The Life and Death of Secondary Education for All,* p. 157.

[69] Paul Miller, 'Free Choice, Free Schools and the Academisation of Education in England', *Research in Comparative and International Education* 6:2 (2011), p. 178.

[70] *Letter from to the Rt Hon the Lord Adonis from Richard Morris*, 27 April 2007, p. 1.

[71] Richard Morris Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 17 November 2016.

The two sources ascribed a defensive dimension to the LEA's response. For them, the council opposed high-quality education in the form of a converter academy because it was offered at the expense of failing LEA schools. Thus, some interviewees believed that improvement to a public service was not universally embraced due to a concern with maintaining the status-quo within a local authority, even if it brought lower standards for users.

Former headteacher Judith Franklin also remembered the reluctance of the LEA to support the conversion. 'It saw Colston's Girls' School as a threat to its schools' rebuilding programme, possibly attracting pupils and funding away from projects that depended on meeting targets to fulfil the funding requirements.'[72] Of course, a city-wide rebuilding programme would benefit other students in different schools, but a new building or renovated building is only worth so much if the teaching and learning inside of it are not of high quality.

The interviewees above perceived the council as having a vested interest: the competition facilitated by CGS would affect local schools and their employees by drawing pupils and the need for teachers and administrators away from LEA schools and lead to job loss.[73] Competition was an integral aspect to the changing nature of secondary schooling across England in the 1990s and 2000s. No longer only a private-sector value, competition permeated educational policy across three different governments. Nonetheless, central governments' embrace of the use of competition to drive quality and effectiveness did not correspond to traditional LEA principles. For this locally governed, community-oriented service, competition was in direct conflict of its goal to achieve equality between schools. The clash between market practices and ingrained acceptance of the status-quo was plainly apparent.

Others who witnessed CGS' conversion sympathised with the position in which the city council found itself. SMV member and Chairman of CGS' governing body, Anthony Brown believed the local authority tried to come to terms with its new position:

> The local authority were in a very difficult stage at that time. They were having their powers taken away from them at an increasingly fast rate. I think there was some reluctance on their part to relinquish that…I don't think there was anything particularly pernicious in the way that they treated us.[74]

For Brown the Bristol LEA did not behave in a hostile manner towards SMV or CGS, but it did find the diminution of its role difficult to accept. Headteacher at the time of conversion, Lesley Ann Jones also believed the attitude of the city council was no different from that of many of

[72] Private Papers of Judith Franklin, 'Academy Status', 2007.
[73] Richard Morris Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 17 November 2016.
[74] Anthony Brown Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 7 March 2017.

other local authorities across England who were seeing their role in the provision of education reduced.[75]

Another interviewee explained their impression of the complex situation the council found itself in: CGS traditionally drew students both from within Bristol city limits and the surrounding areas and the implementation of a new catchment zone for CGS could affect not only other schools, but potential pupils as well.[76] If CGS drew students solely from within Bristol, it would improve results and the profile of the city, but negatively affect schools who might lose girls to CGS. If the catchment area remained similar to what CGS already had, students from outside of Bristol would benefit from a high-quality CGS education at the expense of local children who attended some of worst performing schools in England. In the end, the catchment area was set at 30 per cent of girls coming from outside of Bristol and 70 per cent from within city boundaries.[77] This arrangement protected the interests of local authority schools at the expense of higher numbers of Bristol girls benefitting from a CGS education.

Tension between the LEA and CGS did not cease after it opened as an academy in 2008. Just three years later conflict relating to CGS' impact on other local schools re-surfaced when CGS announced a plan to increase its Year Seven intake. Minutes from the CGS Community Committee stated that:

> There was some concern across the city from secondary school heads as there were already surplus places in some Bristol schools, however, due to the large number of independent schools within Bristol (28 per cent) not all places would be drawn from the maintained sector.[78]

In addition to highlighting the continuing tension between CGS and other state-maintained secondary schools which viewed CGS as a threat to their recruitment and operations, this statement suggested that CGS straddled the boundary between the private and state-maintained sectors. The school expected some of the new places to appeal to students from the independent market as well as from the state sector. After three years as an academy CGS still attracted girls and their parents who would consider it as an alternative to paying fees at an independent school. The reputation and results of the school generated high demand for places and were allowing CGS to compete across two markets. CGS' ability as an academy to offer high-quality educational provision that drew parents away from the private sector was a success for a policy designed to improve LEA performance and introduce private-sector values and practices into the state-maintained sphere. The potential for CGS to attract students from the private sector further

[75] Lesley Ann Jones Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 7 March 2017.
[76] Anonymous Interviewee J, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 27 February 2017.
[77] MH, Colston's Girls' School, *Annex 2 The Admission of Pupils to Colston's Girls' School*, 2008.
[78] MH, Minutes of a Meeting of Colston's Girls' School Academy, *Community Committee*, 1 March 2011, p. 2.

indicated that Bristol's independent school sector was facing new challenges. In fact, the social-entrepreneurial academy initiative had transformed the quality of education offered in Bristol's state-maintained sphere between 2000-2017, contributing to the need for independent schools to adapt and consolidate as a result.

The new schools in town

The history of Bristol's independent school sector is intertwined with that of its state-maintained schools. As mentioned above, in the 1990s and 2000s the city's under-performing LEA schools fuelled the desire of upper and middle-class parents to have their children privately educated.[79] These parents did not lack for choice within the private sphere; Bristol was home to eleven independent schools.[80] Ultimately, their number diminished following a rise in the cost of private education and the introduction of the academies programme to Bristol. The landscape of secondary education in Bristol in 2017 vastly differed from that in the early 2000s. Academies run by philanthropic and private-sector providers, rather than under-performing LEA schools and independent institutions had come to dominate the sector.

One cause of the decline in demand for independent schools in Bristol and the resulting contraction in their number to seven by 2017 was rising fees. *The Times* reported in 2006 that 'the average cost of sending a child to private school has increased by 42 per cent to nearly £10,000 per year in the past five years, but average earnings have increased by only 24 per cent.'[81] As private education became more expensive, schools like CGS that appealed to non-wealthy parents were at risk. Pressure on fee-payers and schools alike was heightened during the 2008 recession which resulted in a 0.9 per cent downturn in numbers at independent schools.[82] On the surface that percentage may appear low but the recession's effect on independent schools was measured another way – twenty-five of them closed between 2008-2009.[83] In Bristol, independent schools not only felt the strain of recession and the ongoing challenge of attracting fee-paying students, they began to face new competition from an improving state-maintained sector.

Improvement in state schools and the decline of independent schools in Bristol was arguably rooted in the social entrepreneurial academy initiative which brought philanthropic and private-sector values and expertise to state-maintained schools. However, the LEA made its own

[79] As seen at CGS where non-wealthy parents made sacrifices to send their children to an independent school.
[80] Michael Shaw, 'Buying into Different class; Insight', *Bristol Evening Post*, 17 January 2001, pp. 8-9; 'More Schools go Independent' *Bristol Evening Post*, 26 April 2001, p. 7; '21 % of Kids Leave City for School', *Bristol Evening Post*, 19 November 2007, p. 1.
[81] Grainne Gilmore, 'Rising Fees put Private Education out of Reach', *The Times* (London) 9 October 2006, p. 23.
[82] Irena Barker, 'UK Independents Retain their Allure Abroad, but not at Home', *The Times Educational Supplement*, 30 April 2010, p. 17; Rachel Williams, 'Private School Pupil Numbers fall as Recession hits Parents', *Guardian,* 29 April 2010, p. 14.
[83] 'Hundreds of Private School Teachers Casualties of the Credit Crunch', *Guardian,* 7 April, 2009.

contribution to school improvement. In 2006 it opened a new comprehensive school (academy as of 2012) in an affluent neighbourhood with the aim of attracting middle-class parents back to the city's maintained schools.[84] Demand immediately surged for the new Redland Green School. Some parents even purchased homes in the neighbourhood in an attempt to secure places for their children.[85] But despite the high number of parents competing for places for their children, there was a feeling among residents and city councillors that the school was drawing children away from other local authority schools rather than pulling them in from the independent sector.[86] For example, residents of neighbourhoods adjacent to Redland Green School continued to send their children out of the city or to independent schools as they could not secure places there and felt there was no other adequate provision in their immediate area.[87] Although the Bristol LEA attempted to improve provision through the establishment of a new comprehensive school, widespread improvement in the performance of Bristol's maintained schools and a change in residents' perceptions of them instead occurred through the convergence of public and private spheres.

Starting in 2003 academies rapidly replaced Bristol's under-performing LEA schools. By 2017 eighteen out of twenty-one secondary schools had become academies sponsored by social entrepreneurial companies and trusts.[88] All of the schools that became sponsored academies improved in GCSE results between 2002, when they were all under LEA control, and 2014 when they had transformed into academies.[89] (See Figures 4.4 to 4.5) Despite the challenges that have arisen in individual schools like Merchants' Academy, it is clear that academisation improved overall performance in Bristol's maintained secondary schools. As results in state schools began

[84] Marc Rath, 'School Conversions add to Academy Ranks', *Bristol Post*, 15 January 2013, p. 14.
[85] Parents' ability to move and afford a new home in the area acted as its own method of selection for admission to this comprehensive school. 'Flagship Schools on the Horizon', *Western Daily Press*, 11 September 2007, p. 18; Linda Tanner, '90 Pupils miss out at new School', *Bristol Evening Post*, 5 March 2007, p. 1.
[86] Linda Tanner, 'Millions Spent – Spaces to Spare', *Bristol Evening Post*, 7 March 2007, p. 1.
[87] 'Secondary Education is Needed', *Bristol Evening Post*, 18 March 2011, p. 10; Linda Tanner, 'Bristol mums want new Secondary School', *Bristol Evening Post*, 20 July 2009, p. 6.
[88] The other three comprise a foundation school and two voluntary aided schools. Bristol.gov.uk, *Secondary Admissions*, (2015)
<https://www.bristol.gov.uk/documents/20182/34224/Bristol+Secondary+Schools+A+to+Z/bb1eb736-ce9e-4c28-849f-5c664cb3e661>
[89] See Tables 5.5 – 5.6 for a school by school comparison of GCSE results before and after schools' conversions to academy status. Percentages refer to students attaining 5 A*-C GSCE including English and mathematics. In the 2003 the first academy opened in Bristol – therefore the data is taken from 2002, when most of the schools were controlled by the LEA. The year 2014 is used as the most recent data as it was the last year for which the 5 A*-C GCSEs including English and mathematics were used as the key measurement for attainment in secondary schools. Department for Education, *School and College Performance Tables Bristol*, (2002 –2014)
<http://www.education.gov.uk/cgibin/schools/performance/2014/group.pl?qtype=LA&superview=sec&view=aat&set=1&sort=&ord=&tab=149&no=801&pg

to improve, parental demand for spaces in them rose.[90] As demand for academies increased and rising costs presented barriers to prospective fee-paying parents, Bristol's independent schools amalgamated, closed or otherwise had to adapt to competition from both the independent and state-maintained sectors in the city.

Figure 4.4: Percentage of pupils at mainstream LEA schools attaining 5 A*-C GCSEs including English and mathematics (for which data was available over several years) before and after before and after academisation, 2002-2014.

School	School Type	2002 GCSE Results	School	School Type	2014 GCSE Results
LEA CGSE attainment	N/A	31	LEA	N/A	55.2
England CGSE attainment	N/A	51.6	England	N/A	53.4
Ashton Park School	Foundation	29	Ashton Park School	Foundation	56
Bedminster Down School	LEA	24	Bedminster Down School	Academy	49
Brislington School	LEA	27	Oasis Academy Brislington	Academy	N/A
Bristol Cathedral School	Independent	97	Bristol Cathedral Choir School	Academy	76
Colston's Girls' School	Independent	100	Colston's Girls' School	Academy	83
Cotham School	LEA	70	Cotham School	Academy	77
Fairfield High School	LEA	27	Fairfield High School	Academy	47
Hartcliffe Secondary School	LEA	27	Bridge Learning Campus	Academy	37
Henbury School	LEA	22	Henbury School	Academy	46
Hengrove Community Arts College	LEA	18	Oasis Academy John Williams	Academy	52
Lockleaze School	LEA	17	N/A	NA	N/A
Monks Park School	LEA	27	Orchard School Bristol	Academy	39
Portway Community School	LEA	19	Oasis Academy Brightstowe	Academy	50

[90] Michael Yong, 'National Offer Day 2017 LIVE: Which Secondary Schools in Bristol Region still have Spaces?' *Bristol Post*, 1 March 2017; Department for Education, *School and College Performance Tables Local Authority: Bristol*, (2008-2014) < http://www.education.gov.uk/cgibin/schools/performance/2014/group.pl?qtype=LA&no=801&superview=sec>

Figure 4.5

School	School Type	2002 GCSE Results	School	School Type	2014 GCSE Results
LEA CGSE attainment	N/A	31	LEA	N/A	55.2
England CGSE attainment	N/A	51.6	England	N/A	53.4
St Bede's Catholic College	Voluntary Aided	59	St Bede's Catholic College	Academy	76
St Bernadette's Catholic Secondary	Voluntary Aided	41	St Bernadette's Catholic Secondary	Voluntary Aided	64
St George Community College	LEA	25	City Academy Bristol	Academy	29
St Mary Redcliffe and Temple C of E School	Voluntary Aided	78	St Mary Redcliffe and Temple C of E School	Voluntary Aided	70
St Thomas More Catholic Secondary School	Voluntary Aided	32	N/A	N/A	N/A
Speedwell Technology College	LEA	25	Bristol Brunel Academy	Academy	48
Whitefield Fishponds Community School	LEA	25	Bristol Metropolitan Academy	Academy	54
Withywood Community School	LEA	13	Merchants' Academy	Academy	45
N/A	N/A	N/A	Bristol Free School	Academy	N/A
N/A	N/A	N/A	Redland Green School	Academy	82

In the 2003 the first academy opened in Bristol – therefore the data is taken from 2002, when most of the schools were controlled by the LEA. 2014 is the last year for which the 5 A*-C GCSEs including English and mathematics were used as the key measurement for attainment in secondary schools. Source: Department for Education, *School and College Performance Tables Bristol*, (2002 –2014)
<http://www.education.gov.uk/cgibin/schools/performance/2014/group.pl?qtype=LA&superview=sec&view=aat&set=1&sort=&ord=&tab=149&no=801&p>

As discussed above, CGS and Bristol Cathedral Choir School were two independent schools that converted into academies in 2008. Other independent schools pursued different strategies. In one case, another girls' independent school, Clifton High School, opened its sixth form to boys in 2008.[91] The following September the rest of the secondary school became co-educational.[92] Financial constraints and competition forced three independent schools, CGS, BCCS and Clifton High School to alter the nature of their provision within months of one another. The remaining independent schools persisted for another two years before the Bristol market contracted once again. In 2011, the aforementioned St Ursula's, a non-competitive independent school, was closed after the number of students fell below two hundred.[93] The school did not become an academy in partnership with CGS and was unable to join the state-maintained sector through another trust as its original founders preferred to close the school rather than lose its Catholic character in a merger.[94] Though St Ursula's was the only independent school in Bristol to close it was not the last to be affected by changes in the market for independent education.

In 2016 two of three remaining independent girls' schools announced a merger that would see the number of independent girls' schools in Bristol reduced to two (one with boarding facilities) from the five it had been just nine years earlier. The consolidation of Redland High School and The Red Maids School allowed the two to share resources, sell one site, build new facilities and continue to attract a large enough number of girls to ensure a sustainable future.[95] The Headmistress of Red Maids wrote a letter to the *Bristol Post* in which she denied that the merger was done for financial reasons and that it reflected 'ambition and confidence in the future.'[96] Nevertheless, the fact remains that with CGS in the state-maintained sector, Clifton High School accepting boys and Badminton School maintaining its status as an elite boarding school for girls, Redland High School and Red Maids had an opportunity to corner the girls' independent day school market in Bristol rather than compete against one another.

Girls' schools were not the only ones re-considering their position. In 2017, Queen Elizabeth's Hospital, the last remaining independent all-boys' school in the city, began to take girls into its sixth form.[97] Accepting girls into its sixth form allowed the school to increase its student intake and compete with other co-educational sixth forms. Like the headmistress of The Red

[91] 'Girls' School to Admit Boys', *Bristol Evening Post*, 5 February 2008, p. 5.
[92] 'Clifton High to Take Boys of all Ages', *Bristol Evening Post*, 26 March 2008, p. 5.
[93] 'State Plan Boost for Private School', *Bristol Evening Post*, 14 April 2010, p. 17.
[94] Linda Tanner, 'Fight to Save Private School Fails after Deal Falls Through', *Bristol Evening Post*, 4 August 2010, p. 13.
[95] Michael Yong, 'Top Private Schools Announce Plans to Merge Over Two Years', *Bristol Post*, 4 March 2016, pp. 2-3.
[96] Isabel Tobias, 'Red Maids, We're a Beacon of Excellence', *Bristol Post*, 20 April 2016, pp. 10-11.
[97] Michael Yong, 'Here come the Girls: All-boys School to mix after 425 years', *Bristol Post*, 13 April 2016, pp. 14-15.

Maids School, the headteacher at Queen Elizabeth's Hospital stated the decision to expand its provision was not financial, but part of its development and in response to parental wishes.[98] Whether or not competition led to the merger of Redland High and Red Maids schools and the admittance of girls into an all-boys sixth form, it is evident that private schools in Bristol saw a need to adapt in order to maintain their statuses and continue attracting students away from other independent schools and better performing state schools.

Significant changes took place in Bristol's independent and state-maintained schools between 2003-2017. However, it is difficult to gauge to what extent the amalgamation of independent schools and change in intake was due to academisation. Transformations to CGS, Clifton High School and BCCS came into effect in 2008, following years of planning and just five years after Bristol's first academy opened. Stated factors behind their decline included rising tuition fees, the end of Assisted Places and competition from other independent, non state-maintained, schools. At the same time, academies contributed to improvement in Bristol's state schools, evidenced through the fact that new academies reached statutory benchmarks and testing targets that were not attained under their predecessor schools.[99] In addition, academisation had a unique role to play in Bristol with the transformation of CGS and BCCS. Rather than closing or merging with other independent schools, the academies initiative allowed these schools to become a part of the state-maintained sector without losing their autonomy and ethos. The high standards and performance associated with the two schools became part of Bristol's public services, widening access to free, high-quality education and improving the reputation of the city's maintained-schools sector.

Conclusion

Colston's Girls' School and Bristol's LEA together from a valuable a local level, case study analysis through which we can examine a philanthropic organisation's implementation of private-sector practices into the state-maintained sector on a local scale. A national policy, academies undoubtedly affected different cities, regions and local authorities in different ways; this local level analysis underlined the significance of using institutional and oral history methods to draw out potentially unknown causes of academisation and sponsors' influence, not only at CGS but across Bristol's state-maintained secondary schools. This chapter provides evidence of the fact that analysis of the national shift away from local authority provision contributes to the historical

[98] Yong, 'Here come the Girls', 14-15.
[99] Department for Education, *School and College Performance Tables Bristol*, (2002 –2014) <http://www.education.gov.uk/cgibin/schools/performance/2014/group.pl?qtype=LA&superview=sec&view=aat&set=1&sort=&ord=&tab=149&no=801&pg

literature on local authorities' welfare services and further expands our historical knowledge on philanthropic organisations.

Local level analysis indicated that CGS itself benefitted from joining the state-maintained sector. Government funding allowed it to expand, renovate and raise academic standards in its sixth form. However, CGS' transition from an independent school to an academy was not an altogether positive experience for the local authority. Analysis of CGS' recent history using my methodological model of bringing together oral and institutional history revealed the tensions that arose between it and SMV over the priorities of LEAs. That is, equality and protection of the status-quo versus private-sector values of competition and independence. Oral history interviews used in conjunction with contemporary sources such as letters and newspaper articles demonstrated that conflict over values occurred not just between SMV and Bristol City Council, it pervaded SMV itself. The case study approach provides the researcher with access to previously unknown information about an elite social entrepreneurial institution. Increasing its social entrepreneurial involvement in the educational sector set a new course for SMV: Merchants' Academy and CGS were both state-funded secondary academies while Colston's School had become a minority as SMV's only remaining independent school.

My investigation showed that CGS' integration into Bristol's state-maintained secondary system was part of a wider trend towards academisation in the city as Bristol's secondary education landscape significantly changed between 2000-2017. The 'third way' academy approach resulted in improved attainment and the quality of provision in Bristol's state-maintained secondary schools. As a result, and discussed in this chapter, academies came to dominate the city's educational sector. This case study analysis thus contributed to historical literature on public services, policymaking and the role of the state alongside philanthropic organisations. It also led to the discovery of important information about the individual workings of academies including success in transferring ethos, which would have been unavailable to researchers using a large-scale approach. Particularly, with a local level analysis and access to otherwise restricted institutional private archives and oral history interviewees, researchers may discover as yet unknown – to historians and policymakers scrutinising national trends – specific causes behind academy or LEA-level effects.

Chapter Five

A Delicate Balance: The Influence of Private-sector Values on the Philanthropic Ethic in Residential Care for the Elderly, 1979 to 2017

Introduction

In 1650 SMV set out the rules and expectations for the residents of its almshouse. They were to pray morning and evening, attend daily lecture sermons, take it turns to clean the communal areas of the building and refrain from drinking, swearing and hosting guests.[1] In return, SMV provided these typically destitute and infirm people with shelter, clothes and small sums of money. SMV's care homes, its role within them and the type of resident housed evolved over the following centuries though this chapter focuses specifically on the time period between 1975-2017. Within that period residents became clients rather than objects of charity and SMV itself went from acting as a distant overseer to embracing a social entrepreneurial style of management. Over the course of these four decades SMV professionalised the nature of its service provision at Colston's Almshouse and the Cote Charity, updated its care-home facilities and sought to increase its influence as the endowment trustee the St Monica Trust.[2] SMV's actions to update and improve its accommodation, particularly at Cote, derived partly from rising living standards but were mainly due to a radical shift at the national level in the provision of welfare services. This shift brought about the introduction of a market structure in residential care for the elderly at the end of the twentieth century. Merchant involvement with the St Monica Trust also revealed the tension between this market structure and philanthropic purpose in a local context: neither philanthrocapitalist nor entirely social entrepreneurial in nature, SMVs role as endowment trustee allowed it to use its private-sector outlook to grow, rather than spend, its endowment, in order to maintain a viable long-term service. Treating residential care for the elderly as a business, as both endowment trustee and manager of the Cote Charity conflicted with SMV's charitable purpose of providing for those in need. Philanthropic in nature, but competing for fee-paying or self-funding, residents, SMV's shifting engagement in residential care for the elderly exemplifies the clash between philanthropic services and private-sector practices in the modern British welfare state.

SMV's application of private-sector values to the provision of care homes was part of a broader national trend. Philanthropic and private-sector commercial provision of residential care of the elderly became more prevalent between 1979-1991 as the Conservative government led by

[1] Patrick McGrath, *The Merchant Venturers of Bristol: A History of the Society of Merchant Venturers of the City of Bristol from its Origin to the Present Day* (Bristol: The Society of Merchant Venturers, 1975), pp. 81-82.
[2] Henceforth the St Monica Trust will be referred to as 'St Monica', as this is how interviewees and H.H. Wills himself referred to it.

Margaret Thatcher attempted to 'roll back the frontiers of the state'. Beginning in 1983 this government established a market structure or 'quasi-market' of residential care for the elderly in which private and philanthropic organisations provided housing to elderly residents paid for by central government funding. Local authorities also continued to offer places in their care homes until 1990. Policies transferring the responsibility for the provision of services from the state to independent organisations such as SMV originated under a Conservative government but spanned successive Labour and Coalition governments from the 1990s onwards.

This chapter analyses the influence of this 'quasi-market' on SMV over a forty-year period through its involvement in three almshouses, the Cote Charity and with the St Monica Trust (a separate care-home charity). The implementation of the 'quasi-market' at the end of the twentieth century also saw the modernisation of care homes as providers competed to attract residents. As with education, the old age care system in Bristol generated conflict between public and private-sector values. A welfare service for elderly people in need of care and supervision became entangled with commercial imperatives including the development of high-end leisure complexes for affluent older people. It is this tension of the complex interplay between public and private-sector values in the context of philanthropic provision of residential care of the elderly that forms the basis of the historical investigation of this chapter.

The enduring market principle

Marketization in and privatisation of public services are often associated with Margaret Thatcher and Conservatism, yet the principle extended well beyond her leadership and was adopted by three successive cross-party governments (one of which was New Labour). They began in the 1980s and remained in effect in 2017. A 'quasi-market' which relied on public funding to secure placements in increasingly regulated private and philanthropic nursing and care homes influenced SMV's approach to its own care homes over this era. Specifically, increased demand from an ageing population and competition for residents led to SMV's renovation and eventual disposal of two almshouses as well as the re-building of Cote. However, SMV's ambitions took it beyond updating its facilities to reflect rising living standards and it entered the market for self-funding residents – a shortfall in local authority funding having developed as the actual cost of care for government-funded residents exceeded the amount local authorities were able to pay for care through the market structure. As a result, fee-paying residents were courted in order to cross-subsidise those from the local authority. Alongside cross-subsidisation, the shortfall was otherwise provided through SMV's charitable funds. As this chapter will demonstrate, catering to affluent residents who cross-subsidised the less well-off, left SMV precariously clinging to its philanthropic purpose. A full analysis of the tension between high-quality philanthropic care and sustainable

business practices at Cote and through SMV's role with St Monica comes in later sections. First, we require a detailed examination of the system that blended public and private residential care of the elderly: the 'quasi-market'.

The number of care homes in England rapidly expanded in the 1980s. As already discussed in the Introduction, the construction and improvement of care homes was not a priority in the 1950s and 1960s even following the establishment of the welfare state. Instead, building materials and resources were directed towards family housing and some elderly people were left to cope in old and even decrepit accommodation. Peter Townsend observed the harsh conditions in ill-equipped care homes desperately in need of updating. The worst he described as 'grim and sombre' and 'bleak and uninviting'.[3] Narrow, dimly-lit staircases led to draughty rooms crammed full of dozens of iron-framed beds. Lack of privacy was intrinsic to this arrangement.[4] It was not until the 1970s, over a decade after Townsend conducted his research, that the number of state-funded, purpose-built dwellings for elderly people began to increase. Finally, care homes were built for specialised use and the infrastructure advanced beyond accommodation in Victorian workhouses and other old and unsuitable buildings. Christina Victor argued that the growth of the care-home sector was on account of the Labour Government's 1969 Circular 82/69 'Housing Standards and Cost: Accommodation Specially Designed for Old People'. Indeed, the circular preceded an expansion of sheltered housing units from approximately 100,000 in 1970 to 298,501 by the early 1980s.[5] Victor, writing in the 1980s, perceived that after 1980 expansion came from the private and philanthropic sectors. She argued that an increase in private homes was a result of the Conservative government's introduction of limits on public spending by local authorities.[6] However, with hindsight it becomes apparent that the expansion of independent residential care providers in the 1980s was related not to a reduction in government spending, but conversely, was fuelled by a sharp increase in spending that went to private providers rather than to local authorities.

State spending on private and philanthropic services took off in 1979 with the Conservative government's re-routing of funds from the NHS long-term care budget to the social

[3] Peter Townsend, *The Last Refuge*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1962), pp. 4, 10.
[4] Townsend, *The Last Refuge*, pp. 4-5, 65-70, 90, 114-116, 182-183.
[5] Christina R. Victor, *Old Age in Modern Society: A Textbook of Social Gerontology* (Beckenham Kent: Croom Helm Ltd, 1987), p. 146.
[6] Victor, *Old Age in Modern Society*, pp. 146, 155, 277, 293.

security budget.[7] The re-directed funds were used to finance places in private and voluntary residential care homes for low-income persons who did not receive monetary support from their local authorities.[8] In 1983 the practice expanded when it became a right for all low-income elderly people seeking care-home provision to select a place, without undergoing assessment, in a privately-run (though not necessarily high-end) home and receive social security payments to cover the cost.[9] Norman Johnson demonstrated the policy's effect on generating privatised services. In 1980 the private sector provided less than 40 per cent of places in sheltered housing and care homes. By 1994 that number had increased to 82 per cent.[10] Put another way, 80 per cent of elderly people resident in care homes in the 1990s lived in privately-run facilities.[11] Elderly persons not in receipt of social security benefit also increased the demand for spaces in care homes as the numbers of elderly people grew (following the initial post-war baby boom) both as a proportion of the population and in terms of people living longer.[12] Given the surge in private provision facilitated by government spending through social security payments in the 1980s and growing numbers of older people, welfare state retrenchment via *spending* proved unsuccessful.[13] Yet the state successfully retreated from the *provision* of local authority services first through social security spending then following the 1990 NHS and Community Care Act. (See Figure 5.1 for data on long-term spending on social security, including between 1983-1991.) The market principle for residential care of the elderly and the flow of public cash within it established through the Act encouraged SMV to update its provision at the almshouses and Cote in order to compete with other providers. SMV's active engagement resulted in improved facilities but it also opened the

[7] Given my focus on the history of the quasi-market and philanthropy's developing role in the provision of care home services, analysis of the debate between the NHS and social care services over their respective responsibilities to health provision are beyond the scope of this thesis. For detailed research into the history of long-term hospital care for the chronically ill elderly see Jane Lewis, 'Older People and the Health-Social Care Boundary in the UK: Half a Century of Hidden Policy Conflict', *Social Policy and Administration* 35:4 (2001) pp. 343-359; Paul Bridgen, 'Hospitals, Geriatric Medicine, and the Long-term Care of Elderly People 1946-1976', *Social History of Medicine* 14:3 (2001), pp. 507-523.

[8] Stewart Player and Allyson M. Pollock, 'Long-term Care: From Public Responsibility to Private Good' *Critical Social Policy* 21:2 (2001), pp. 234-235.

[9] Isobel Allen, Debra Hogg and Sheila M. Peace, *Elderly People: Choice Participation and Satisfaction* (London: Policy Studies Institute, 1992) p. 258; Jane Lewis and Anne West, 'Re-Shaping Social Care Services for Older People in England: Policy Development and the Problem of Achieving 'Good Care', *Journal of Social Policy* 43:1 (2014) pp. 4-5.

[10] Norman Johnson, 'The Personal Social Services', in Stephen P. Savage and Rob Atkinson (eds.) *Public Policy Under Blair* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001), p. 177.

[11] Robert G. Ford and Geoffrey C. Smith, 'Geographical and Structural Change in Nursing Care Provision for Older People in England, 1993 -2001', *Geoforum* 39:1 (2008), p. 484; Johnson, 'The Personal Social Services', p. 177.

[12] Angela Storey, *Living Longer: How our Population is Changing and why it Matters*, Office for National Statistics, 13 August 2018, pp. 2-3,13-14, 31; Government Office for Science, Future of an Ageing Population (2016), pp. 19-21.

[13] Jim Ogg, John Grimley Evans, Margot Jefferys and Douglas G. MacMahon, 'Professional Responses to the Challenge of Old Age', in eds. Miriam Bernard and Judith Phillips *The Social Policy of Old Age: Moving into the 21st Century* (London: Centre for Policy on Ageing, 1998), p. 124; Isobel Allen, Debra Hogg and Sheila M. Peace, *Elderly People: Choice Participation and Satisfaction* (London: Policy Studies Institute, 1992), p. 258; Julia Johnson, Sheena Rolph and Randall Smith, *Residential Care Transformed: Revisiting 'The Last Refuge'* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 27.

way for SMV's business mindset and private-sector values to conflict with its philanthropic purpose.

The 1990 NHS and Community Care Act established a 'quasi-market' system in residential care for the elderly.[14] Under the terms of the Act local authorities did not construct new homes but focused on providing care in their existing facilities. Their new function was to assess potential residents' needs and purchase services on their behalf from both private and philanthropic providers.[15] Jane Lewis and Anne West agreed with Chris Gilleard and Paul Higgs in concluding that the new role of local authorities and the expanding choice of independent providers facilitated the development of a 'quasi-market' in residential care of the elderly.[16] David N. Barron and Elizabeth West have supported the use of the term 'quasi-market' as opposed to 'market' as a significant number of providers (26 per cent) were non-profit in nature.[17] Furthermore, users operating through their local authorities did not purchase services directly, but relied on the state to do it on their behalf. Privately-funded (i.e. more affluent) users did engage with a market structure to select their residence. However, as an overall structure that incorporated elements of the private sector and public funds, residential care for elderly persons with a limited income can be seen to have operated in a quasi-market.[18]

The quasi-market included large-scale facilities, many run by chains of providers as well as small family-run schemes that operated one or two homes only. In 2016, the Competition and Markets Authority (CMA) investigated the user experience of the care home market.[19] The quasi-market had then been in existence for less than thirty years (following the expansion of private providers in the 1980s and the curtailment of local authority provision after 1990), and the CMA's report addressed some of the key characteristics that had developed over that time. For instance, it found that there were close to 5,500 different providers (that is individuals, charities, private businesses and local authorities) in the United Kingdom. Around 4,000 of these providers owned 'just one home' each, but the largest six groups of providers owned 'over 100 homes each,' giving

[14] Gillian Dalley, 'Health and Social Welfare Policy', in eds. Miriam Bernard and Judith Phillips *The Social Policy of Old Age: Moving into the 21st Century* (London: Centre for Policy on Ageing, 1998), pp. 21-22.
[15] Department of Health, *Caring for People: Community Care in the Next Decade and Beyond, 1989a*, p. 17; Robin Means, Hazel Morbey and Randall Smith, *From Community Care to Market Care? The Development of Welfare Services for Older People* (Bristol: The Policy Press, 2002), pp. 4-5.
[16] Lewis and West, 'Re-Shaping Social Care Services for Older People in England', pp. 4-5; Chris Gilleard and Paul Higgs, 'Old People as Users and Consumers of Healthcare: A Third Age Rhetoric for a Fourth Age Reality?' *Ageing and Society* 18:1 (1998) p. 235.
[17] David N. Barron and Elizabeth West, 'The Quasi-market for Adult Residential Care in the UK: Do For-profit, Not-for-profit or Public Sector Residential Care and Nursing Homes provide Better Quality Care', *Social Science and Medicine* 179:1 (2017) pp. 137-138.
[18] Barron and West, 'The Quasi-market for Adult Residential Care in the UK', pp. 137-138.
[19] Competition and Markets Authority, *Care Homes Market Study: Update Paper*, (2017), p. 6.

these providers a combined market share of 11 per cent of all care homes.[20] In this way, large businesses owned a significant number of care homes available on the quasi-market, even though individual providers, with smaller operations, outnumbered them overall. In a sign of encroachment of large homes on the quasi-market, however, the journalist Graham Ruddick found that small operators were in the majority of the 380 care homes that closed after 2010.[21]

Small to medium-sized residential homes (under about fifty residents) like SMV's Colston's Almshouse and Cote Charity tended to have limited resources and in this new market they found it increasingly difficult to operate alongside larger providers such as the St Monica Trust, which was able to achieve economies of scale.[22] Reaching economies of scale allowed providers operating in the quasi-market after 1990 to use resources more efficiently, lowering cost per unit. Meaning, at a certain point it became more cost effective to offer a higher rather than a lower number of beds.[23] Efficiency was also achieved through hiring and scheduling practices. A home operated more productively by having more nurses or carers in one place who could tend to multiple people.[24] Providers that belonged to chains particularly benefitted financially from centralised management, joint-purchasing and sharing of specialists.[25] Small and medium-sized homes had difficulty meeting economies of scale and were further impacted by legislation relating to working hours and wages.

These homes were not only providers of care, they were also employers. In 1993, care homes adjusted their employment practices to meet the demands of the Working Time Directive, a change that limited the amount of time low-skilled and low-paid employees could work to forty-eight hours per week. The national minimum wage introduced in 1999 also placed strain on smaller providers by requiring them to raise their employees' wages, though not all of them had sufficient funds to pay for this cost increase.[26] More recently, the introduction of the national living wage in 2017 and further strain on local authority budgets made it increasingly difficult for smaller

[20] CMA, *Care homes market study*, p.7.
[21] Graham Ruddick, 'Care Home Closures set to Rise as Funding Crisis Bites', *Guardian*, 11 January 2017.
[22] Small care homes cater for one to ten people, medium for up to fifty, and large care homes for fifty plus, as defined by the CQC. CQC, *The State of Adult Social Care Services 2014 to 2017*, p. 20; Chris Holden, 'British Government Policy and the Concentration of Ownership in Long-term Care Provision', *Ageing and Society*, 22:1 (2002) pp. 80, 83, 88.
[23] Niccie L. McKay, 'The Effect of Chain Ownership on Nursing Home Costs', *Health Services Research* 26:1 (1991), p. 111.
[24] Li-Wu Chen and Dennis G. Shea, 'The Economies of Scale for Nursing Home Care' *Medical Care Research and Review* 61:1 (2004), p. 42.
[25] McKay, 'The Effect of Chain Ownership on Nursing Home Costs', p. 112.
[26] Holden, 'British Government Policy and the Concentration of Ownership in Long-term Care Provision', pp. 86-87.

providers to manage their finances successfully, despite the need to attract and retain a talented workforce.[27]

Scrutiny from the government and potential residents came to both small and large providers in the quasi-market in the form of care home inspections and subsequent publications of the results. Independent care homes first became liable to inspection under the 1984 Registered Homes Act.[28] Local authority provision was not included until the 1990 NHS and Community Care Act; and then the inspections were carried out by a local 'arms-length' distance inspection unit.[29] By 2000 all care homes were regulated through a new independent body known as the National Care Standards Commission (NCSC).[30] It imposed minimum required standards for all residential care providers, to be in place by April 2007. Included in the standards was the pledge that a potential resident's needs could be met by the home of their choice. This assurance in turn led to the creation of individual care plans, a required minimum room size and a focus on respect for residents' privacy and dignity.[31] However, the requirements for upgrading facilities were amended two years later to apply only to new constructions, meaning some existing homes could not offer the same spatial quality of life that was available in facilities built after 2007.[32] The inspection body responsible for monitoring new builds and older homes alike underwent a series of name and association changes in the 2000s but in 2009 it became the Care Quality Commission (CQC). As with education, the CQC's reports established a 'league table' of homes, by providing information on standards and quality of care to the elderly and their families searching for and selecting care homes through the quasi-market.[33]

A cornerstone of the market structure for elderly care that developed out of the 1980s and endured into the 2010s was, therefore, choice. But the competitive nature and inadequate public funding intrinsic to the quasi-market has led to closures, mergers and acquisitions amongst small homes with large businesses becoming ever more prevalent.[34] Small providers broadened the range

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[27] The Health Foundation, *Briefing: The Social Care Funding Gap: Implications for Local Health Care Reform*, March 2017, p. 5; Alex Turner, CommunityCare, 'Care Home Funding Gap will Result in Divide Between Rich and Poor Areas, Providers Warn', 25 January, 2017. <http://www.communitycare.co.uk/2017/01/25/care-home-funding-gap-will-result-divide-rich-poor-areas-providers-warn/ [accessed 17 June 2017]

[28] HMSO, *Registered Homes Act,* 1984, pp. 1-2, 9.

[29] HMSO, *National Health Service and Community Care Act*, 1990; John Dow, 'Care Standards Act 2000: (1) Raising Standards in Residential and Nursing Home Care', *Journal of Integrated Care* 9:4 (2001) p. 9.

[30] HMSO, *Care Standards Act*, 2000, p. 1.

[31] Department of Health, *Care Homes for Older People: National Minimum Standards*, 3rd edn, 2003, pp. 4, 8, 11, 29.

[32] John Carvel, 'Milburn Retreats on Care Home Standards', *Guardian*, 20 August, 2002, p. 5.

[33] The Health Foundation, 'The Care Quality Commission', 2009 < http://navigator.health.org.uk/content/care-quality-commission-cqc-was-established-1-april-2009>; Care Quality Commission, 'About Us: What we do and how we do it', 2017, p. 1.

[34] Mark Drakeford, 'Ownership, Regulation and the Public Interest: The Case of Residential Care for Older People', *Critical Social Policy*, 26:4 (2006), pp. 934, 936; Peter Scourfield, 'Are There Reasons to be Worried About the "Caretelization" of Residential Care?', *Critical Social Policy* 27:2 (2007), pp. 162, 163.

of choice for potential residents via different services, location and ethos of establishment. As their numbers diminished throughout the 1990s to 2010s, so did the options available. Often, good-quality care went with them.[35] Paradoxically, in a system that was designed to expand consumer choice, options were narrowed. Reduction of choice in the quasi-market most affected those searching for affordable accommodation within it; local authority and philanthropically-funded elderly persons.

Paying for care on the quasi-market

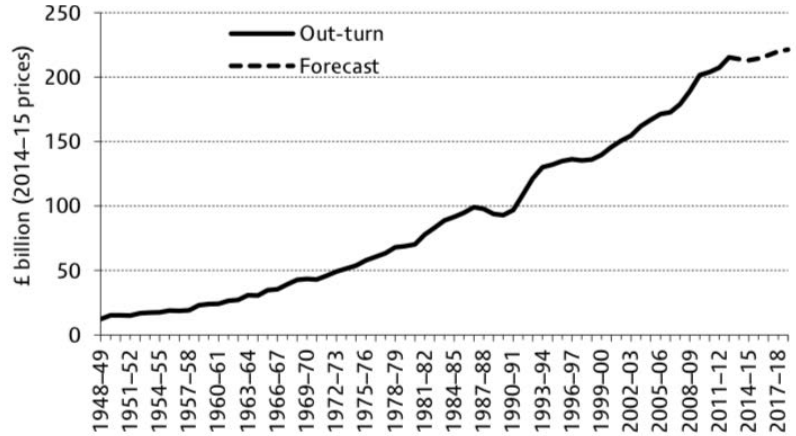
Following the 1990 NHS and Community Care Act, numerous people with limited means and incomes have struggled to find suitable places in care homes through the quasi-market, with fewer options available to them than to self-funders. This difficulty is due restrictions on local authorities in terms of the provision they can provide and the lack of adequate funding available to them for elderly care, as well as independent providers' pursuit of paying residents. For example, local authorities faced financial pressure due to high levels of demand for expensive care. In response to limited budgets and growing need starting in the 1990s, local authorities tightened their eligibility requirements for people who needed a state-funded place in residential care. Variance in the numbers of elderly people residing in one area, differences in the levels of need and the availability of supply all influenced the local authority allocation process.[36] In other words, varying local conditions determined whether or not a person was offered funding and how much they received. Accessing funding was one challenge. Identifying a home where it could be used was another. The restriction of local authority building set out in the 1990 NHS and Community Care Act and continued through to 2017 was only one barrier to the expansion of places for government-funded residents. The CMA reported in 2016 that due to restrictions on statutory funding, the incentive for independent providers to invest in accommodation intended for state-funded residents was weak.[37] More reliable investment opportunities were available in the market catering to self-funding residents. For philanthropic organisations like SMV and its Cote Charity and the St Monica Trust, the pursuit of financial stability weighed against public need. In the following section the differential in funding between local authority payments and the cost of care, and the temptation for providers to select privately-funded residents are explored alongside their impact on homes themselves.

[35] The CQC found that small operators were more likely to provide higher-quality care than large-scale (and potentially more anonymous) operators. Richard Humphries et al, The King's Fund/Nuffield Trust, *Social Care for Older People: Home Truths*, September 2016, p. 43.
[36] Lewis and West, 'Re-Shaping Social Care Services for Older People in England', p. 5; Player and Pollock, 'Long-term Care', p. 240.
[37] CMA, *Care Homes Market Study*, p. 3.

In theory, elderly people searching for residential care services used the quasi-market to identify and select desirable accommodation. In practice, the insufficient amount of public funding allotted to local authority residents (especially compared to the rate self-funders could afford) meant that these elderly people could only access certain homes that were willing to accept the amount they could pay. Significantly, the lower level of funding compared to the cost of services was not due to a decrease in central government spending from the Conservative government from 1979 onwards: increasing amounts of funding were needed to keep pace with an ageing population. More people lived longer, and as people aged, the cost of their care was likely to increase.[38] However, spending in real terms on local authority adult social care has fallen in the years following the Financial Crisis in 2009, with a lower amount of money spent per adult.[39] (See Figures 5.1 to 5.3) In this funding squeeze the less-affluent elderly were limited in their selection of home. Highlighting the challenges faced by local authority-funded residents over the past three decades shows the valuable contribution social entrepreneurial organisations such as SMV and the St Monica Trust could make towards meeting these people's residential care needs.

Figure 5.1 Social security spending, 1948-49 to 2018-19

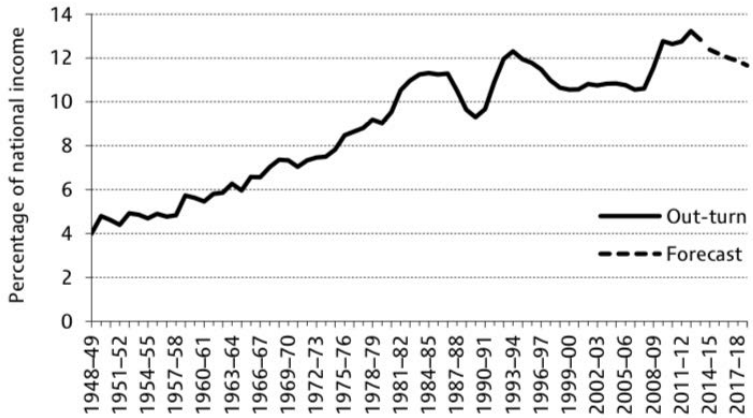
a. Real terms



[38] Office of National Statistics, 'Estimates of the Very Old, Including Centenarians, UK: 2002 to 2017', (2018); ONS, 'National Population Projections: 2016-based Statistical Bulletin', (2017); ONS, 'Living Longer: How our Population is Changing and why it Matters', (2018).

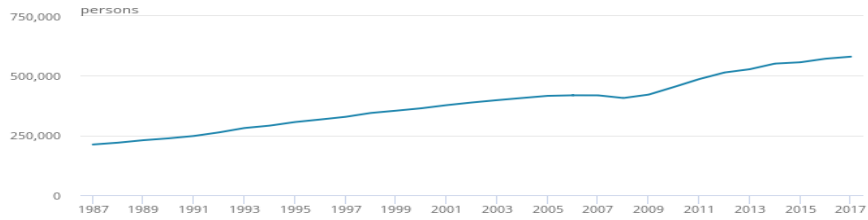
[39] The available data stretches from 2000 to 2017, coinciding with the main time period of my case studies. SMV became active in both the Cote Charity and the St Monica Trust in 2000. Polly Simpson, *Public Spending on Adult Social Care in England* (Institute for Fiscal Studies, 2017), pp. 4, 6.

b. Share of national income



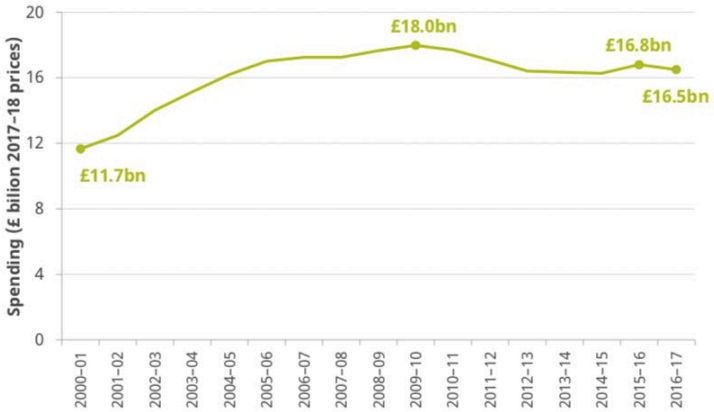
Source: 'Spending on Social Care' Institute for Fiscal Studies Survey of Public Spending in the UK (2014) <https://www.ifs.org.uk/uploads/publications/bns/BN43%20Public%20Spending%202014.pdf>[accessed 21 January 2019]

Figure 5.2 Number of people aged 90 years and over United Kingdom, 1987-2017



Source: Office for National Statistics, National Records of Scotland, Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency < https://www.statistics.digitalresources.jisc.ac.uk/group/office-national-statistics-national-records-scotland-northern-ireland-statistics-and-research> [accessed 19 January 2019]

Figure 5.3 Spending on local-authority-organised adult social care, 2000-01 to 2016-17



Source: Institute for Fiscal Studies 'Public Spending on Adult Social Care in England' (2017) https://www.ifs.org.uk/uploads/publications/bns/BN200.pdf> [accessed 12 February 2019]

The people searching for care on the quasi-market were typically living in accommodation unsuitable for their needs, in ill health and/or of low socioeconomic status, a situation that had often persisted over their lifetime.[40] They were usually older than seventy-five, many of them over ninety.[41] Low income from past jobs, their associated pensions, few opportunities to save and the cost of either renting or owning and maintaining a house contributed to the resources (or lack thereof) available to contribute to, or pay for the cost of care. Some people were on their own, others had relatives who were no longer able to care for them. At the start of our period in 1975 and persisting into the 1990s, was the popular belief that growing numbers of working women would reduce family-provided care. On the contrary Pat Thane argued that '[t]here was every sign that, as they had always done, women maintained their supportive role as well as their paid work'.[42] Many elderly people only entered the quasi-market after the demands and time of their care surpassed what family members caring them (both men and women) were able to provide.[43] When the need arose, the consolidation of the quasi-market, and statutory funding pressures presented multiple challenges for the state-funded care home seeker and their families. For these residents, initial identification of a suitable home might only have been part of the challenge. If they were not happy with the service provided to them they were unable to express market power by moving on, or threatening to move to a more desirable home.[44] Where did these local authority-funded people live and how were the costs for their care met?

Savings through operating on economies of scale made it possible for larger homes and chains of providers to adapt to the low level of fees paid to them by local authorities, particularly following the reduction in adult social care funding in 2011.[45] Other sources of money came from self-funding residents in private and philanthropic homes, as they effectively subsidised council-funded residents with their fees meeting the shortfall from inadequate local authority payments.[46] In 2016, the charity Age UK reported that self-funding residents paid on average between £603

[40] Athina Vlachantoni, Olga Maslovskaya, Maria Evandrou and Jane Falkingham, 'The Determinants of Transition into Sheltered Accommodation in Later Life in England and Wales', *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* 70:8 (2016), pp. 774-775; Pat Thane, *Old Age in English History*, pp. 489-490; Alan Walker, 'Why is Ageing so Unequal?', in eds. Paul Cann and Malcom Dean *Unequal Ageing: The Untold Story of Exclusion in Old Age* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2009), pp. 144-146, 150; Thomas Scharf, 'Too Tight to Mention: Unequal Income in Older Age', in Cann and Dean, *Unequal Ageing,* pp. 28-30; Chris Phillipson, *Capitalism and the Construction of Old Age* (London: The Macmillan Press, 1982).
[41] Office for National Statistics, Estimates of the Very Old (Including Centenarians) UK, 2002 to 2015.
[42] Thane, *Old Age in English History,* p. 431.
[43] Thane, *Old Age in English History,* pp. 428, 430-431.
[44] Holden, 'British Government Policy and the Concentration of Ownership in Long-term Care Provision', p. 90; Scourfield, 'Are There Reasons to be Worried About the "Caretelization" of Residential Care?', pp. 170-171.
[45] Gavin J. Andrews and David R. Phillips, 'Moral Dilemmas and the Management of Private Residential Homes: The Impact of Care in the Community Reforms in the UK', *Ageing and Society* 20:5 (2000), pp. 608-609.
[46] Tim Jarrett, House of Commons Library, *Briefing Paper: The Care Home Market (England)*, 20 February 2017, p. 6.

and £827 per week (depending on the area), while councils paid an average of between £421 and £624 per week.[47] In the South West in 2017 the minimum average weekly rate paid by the local authority was £446 and the maximum £667.[48] The average cost for residential care ranged between £662 and £988 per week.[49] If the fee paid by the local authority and the cost of care varied widely, hundreds of pounds a week were needed to bridge the gap. About half, or 48.9 per cent of care-home residents (who were partially or fully paid for by local authorities) needed to be subsidised by fee-paying residents.[50] In 2014 LaingBuisson observed that 'the stability of the UK care homes sector for older people currently depends on cross subsidies from self-funders to state-funders.'[51] As a result, self-funding residents and their families faced potentially exorbitant charges. If their resources decreased, they too would require additional funding.[52] At present, it is not a sustainable system as self-funders and their families may become less able and less willing to pay high fees that continue to rise. The inadequate weekly rates paid by local authorities to care homes and the resulting tension over the need to subsidise outstanding costs using the fees of self-funders has led some private providers to offer rooms and flats only to those able to afford the fees.[53] By removing themselves from the quasi-market used by local authorities, such providers may obtain a more secure financial position, offer their residents better value for money, or join the market for luxury living, but it further decreased the options available to local authority-funded persons.[54]

This explanation of the complexity of the quasi-market, from its establishment in 1990 to the range of costs of care and fees paid by local authorities by 2017, demonstrates the opportunity philanthropic organisations like SMV had to fill the void left by the retrenchment of the provision of local authority residential services after 1990. In the following two sections this chapter examines SMV's changing engagement with its almshouses and the Cote Charity as the quasi-market developed from 1990-2017. Specifically, these sections analyse the modernisation and professionalisation of services and the emergence of tension between public and private-sector values as SMV used its role as a social entrepreneur to apply its business expertise and outlook to the management of three almshouses and one philanthropic care home.

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[47] Age UK, *Behind the Headlines: 'Stuck in the Middle'- Self-funders in Care Homes*, September 2016, p. 2.
[48] LaingBuisson, *Annual Survey of UK Local Authority Usual Costs 2017/2018*, July 2017, p. 5.
[49] Paying for Care, 'How much does Care Cost?' (2017/2018) < https://www.payingforcare.org/how-much-does-care-cost/>
[50] Jarrett, *Briefing Paper: The Care Home Market*, p. 10.
[51] LaingBuisson, *Care of Older People – UK Market Report 2013/14*, 26th edition, April 2014, pp. 89, 208.
[52] Age UK, 'Behind the Headlines', p. 4.
[53] Humphries et al, *Social Care for Older People*, pp. 33-34.
[54] Humphries et al, *Social Care for Older People,* p. 27; Turner, 'Care Home Funding Gap will Result in Divide Between Rich and Poor Areas'; Drakeford, 'Ownership, Regulation and the Public Interest', p. 936.

The gradual decline of SMV's almshouses

SMV's provision of residential care for the elderly in three almshouses was significantly, though not rapidly, influenced in three different ways. External to SMV was the Conservative government's welfare state retrenchment policies begun in the 1980s and continued through a consensus of the Labour and then Coalition governments. Specifically, competition developed out of a growing private sector after 1983 and the quasi-market after 1990. Improving standards in old age accommodation from the late 1960s onwards also placed pressure on SMV to improve outdated and unsuitable accommodation. Finally, SMV itself shaped the changing provision at the almshouses with members making decisions that placed private-sector practices and philanthropic purpose at odds with one another. Despite awakening to the fact that improvement was needed to its almshouses in the early 1980s, over twenty years elapsed before SMV took decisive action. Throughout those two decades it struggled to find a way to adapt its old and outdated accommodation. Eventually SMV renovated one almshouse and disposed of the other two, reducing capacity in SMV's old age residential care offerings. SMV's decision to lease and sell its charitable properties demonstrated this social entrepreneurial organisation's struggle to reconcile business knowledge and financial viability with the provision of welfare services.

By the 1980s SMV had been involved with almshouses for generations. Originating in England during the middle ages as charitable accommodation for the (usually) elderly poor, almshouses were traditionally rent and tax free, although residents contributed to a minor weekly maintenance fund – the practice at SMV's three small almshouses in 1980.[55] These were called Colston's Almshouse, St Nicholas with Burton's Almshouse and Merchants' Almshouse. (See Figures 5.4 to 5.6 for photographs of all three.) Colston's Almshouse was established in 1696 and is still operational. Merchants' Almshouse came under SMV's care at the end of the sixteenth century and closed at the beginning of the twenty-first. St Nicholas with Burton's Almshouse had a much shorter lifespan. It was established following the amalgamation of two almshouses (St Nicholas Almshouse and Burton's Almshouse) in 1963 and ceased to function in 1990.[56]

[55] Alan Butler, Christine Oldman and John Greve, *Sheltered Housing for the Elderly: Policy, Practice and the Consumer* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1983) p. 74; Nigel Goose, 'Accommodating the Elderly Poor: Almshouse and the Mixed Economy of Welfare in England in the Second Millennium', *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 62:1 (2014), pp. 36-37.

[56] Merchants' Almshouses was previously under the management of the Gild of Mariners. Patrick McGrath, *The Merchant Venturers of Bristol: A History of the Society of Merchant Venturers of the City of Bristol from its Origin to the Present Day* (Bristol: The Society of Merchant Venturers, 1975), pp. 29, 81, 203, 525.

Figure 5.4 Colston's Almshouse

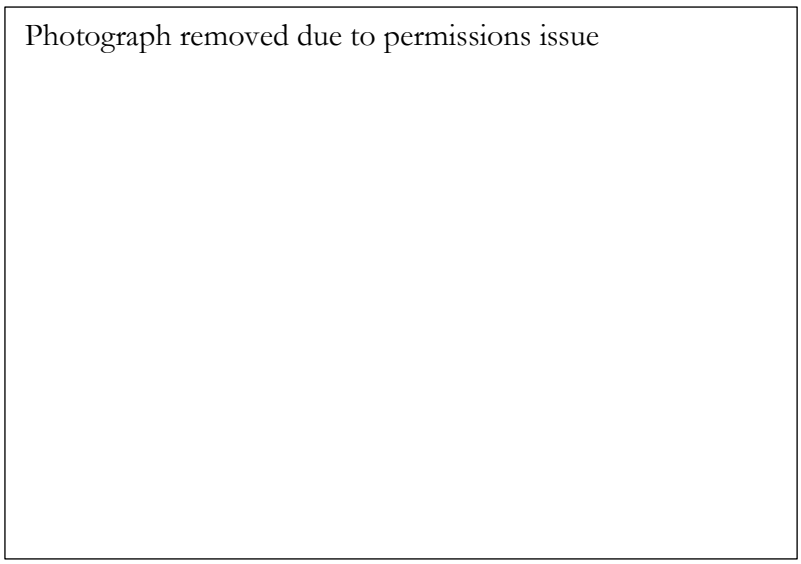


Figure 5.5 The former Merchants' Almshouse

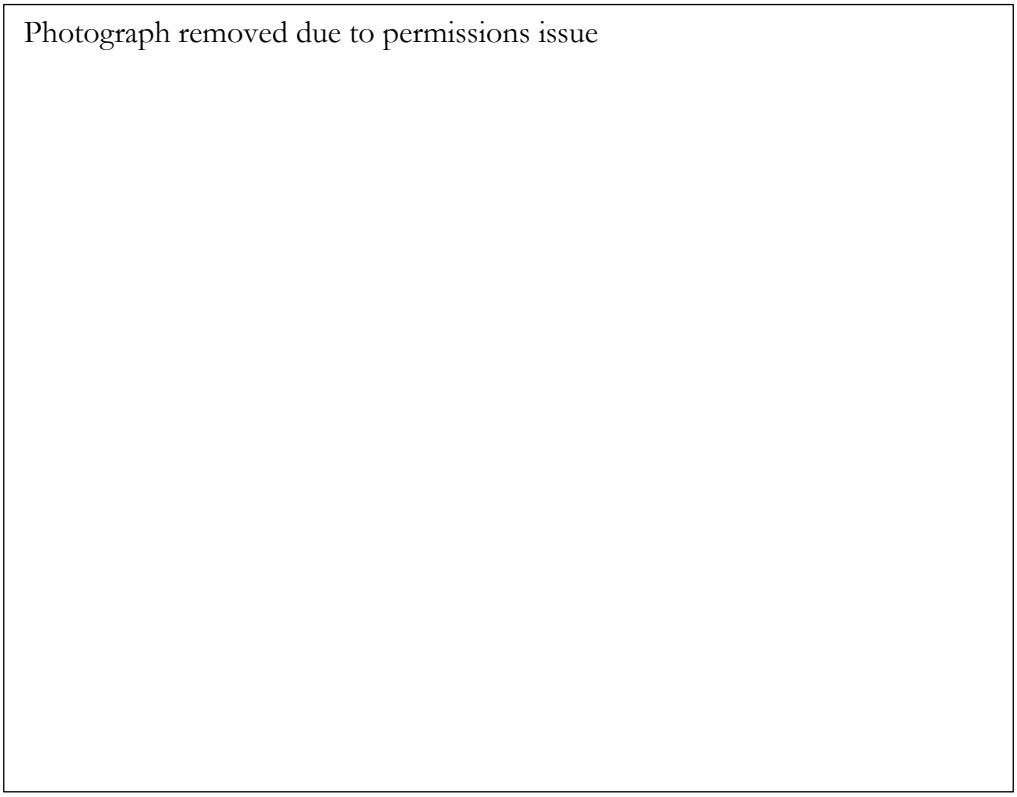
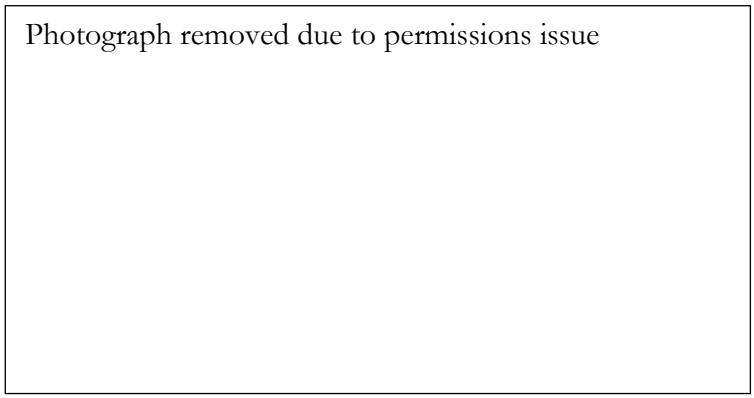


Figure 5.6 The former St Nicholas with Burton's Almshouse



SMV's historical relationship with its almshouses was primarily one of structural management. Archival records demonstrated that SMV's engagement with them, like its other charitable activities in the 1970s and 1980s (discussed above in Chapter Two) was laissez-faire in nature. It sanctioned replacements for windows and heaters, approved roof repairs and paid for redecoration or cosmetic upgrades for the flats.[57] Although SMV selected new residents through a panel and established a formal visiting committee, members were not typically personally involved with the almshouse residents.[58] After 1981 informal visiting was undertaken by members' wives.[59] The women met with residents, heard their concerns and ascertained the mood in the almshouses. Such a system could not continue in perpetuity; society's changing expectations for providers and the introduction of statutory inspections in the 1980s led to a programme of professionalisation and modernisation which held SMV more accountable.

In 1983, following a visit from the Deputy Director of the National Association of Almshouses (NAA), SMV's Treasurer, Anthony Robinson, prepared a report on the facilities available at each of the almshouses. Merchants' Almshouse was considered 'average' with double rooms but the nine flats did not come with separate kitchen and living areas. St Nicholas with Burton's eleven flats and Colston's Almshouses twelve flats both offered single rooms with shared bathroom facilities.[60] The Deputy Director of NAA felt that this accommodation was 'sub-standard'. He would not have been the only one with that opinion. By the 1980s potential residents had experienced years of rising housing standards. For instance, the number of households that

[57] MH, BoP 41, *Standing Committee*, 26 July 1973, p. 97; MH, BoP 41, *Standing Committee*, 23 November 1973, pp. 112-113; MH, BoP 41, *General Meeting*, 31 October 1975, p. 221; MH, BoP 41, *General Meeting*, 10 November 1976, p. 281; MH, BoP 42, *Standing Committee*, 23 November 1979, p. 169; MH, BoP 42, *Standing Committee*, 29 January 1981, p. 235; MH, BoP 43, *Standing Committee*, 14 September 1984, p. 119.
[58] MH, BoP 41, *General Meeting*, 31 October 1975, p. 221; MH, BoP 41, *Standing Committee,* 29 January 1976, p. 237; MH, BoP 42, *General Meeting*, 28 April 1978, p. 79; MH, BoP 42, *Standing Committee*, 26 May 1978, p. 84.
[59] MH, BoP 42, *Standing Committee*, 10 April 1981, p. 248; MH, BoP 42, *Standing Committee,* 19 December 1982, p. 230.
[60] MH, BoP 43, *Standing Committee*, 9 December 1983, p. 79; MH, BoP 43, *Standing Committee*, 22 March 1985, p. 145; MH, BoP 44, *Standing Committee*, 28 July 1988, p. 28.

had sole access to a fixed bath or shower reached a record 97 per cent in 1983, while the number with central heating increased from 8 per cent in 1964 to 91 per cent in 2000.[61] Writing about the era of rising living standards the historian Andrew Rosen observed, '[y]esterday's luxury became today's necessity'.[62] As housing conditions improved, expectations soared beyond what any of SMV's three almshouses could offer.

SMV members themselves were sceptical of the almshouses. Dayrell McArthur, a member in the early 1980s, recalled his uncertainty over the need for such a service and its appeal in a changing care market:

> We had three almshouses when I came in. Which were in a pretty bad state of repair to be perfectly honest. And the, I think the need for almshouses…were they suitable accommodation people would want, [and] you know were they performing a worthwhile function in this day and age?[63]

McArthur's use of the phrase 'day and age' suggests that one Merchant at least, viewed almshouses as a relic of a past era, and questioned their use as a form of residential care in the late-twentieth century. In the years after the NAA report the Standing Committee considered its options, one of which was to modernise the almshouses. But by 2017 only Colston's Almshouse had been renovated.[64] Given the cost of modernisation, less-than-ideal locations and doubts over the future relevance of this kind of accommodation in the new quasi-market, alternative options were eventually sought for the two remaining almshouses.[65] However, SMV's elimination of two almshouses reduced its philanthropic care-home provision by twenty places. The funds generated from the sale of St Nicholas with Burton's and Merchants' Almshouses were held for the re-provision of residential care for the elderly but had not yet been allocated by 2017.[66] As a social entrepreneurial organisation SMV has the responsibility of using its knowledge and expertise to provide high-quality provision of welfare services: in the case of these two almshouses SMV struggled to resolve its purpose in a way that provided suitable, cost-effective accommodation for elderly people.

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[61] John Burnett, *A Social History of Housing 1815-1985*, 2nd edn. (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd, 1986), pp. 283-285, 306.
[62] Andrew Rosen, *The Transformation of British Life 1950-2000: A Social History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), p. 13.
[63] Dayrell McArthur Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 4 July 2016. McArthur is a fourth-generation member of SMV and was Master from 1989-1990. As such, he has witnessed a lot of changes in SMV over time.
[64] MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee*, 22 June 2012, p. 266.
[65] MH, BoP 44, *Standing Committee*, 24 February 1989, p. 58; MH, BoP 42, *Standing Committee*, 10 December 1993, p. 382; MH, BoP 46, *Standing Committee*, 25 October 2002, p. 125; MH, BoP 46, *Standing Committee*, 25 July 2003, p. 198.
[66] MH, BoP 44, *Standing Committee*, 30 March 1990, p. 116; MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee*, 27 April 2007, p. 13; MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee*, 1 June 2007, p. 22; MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee,* 30 May 2008, p. 75; MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee,* 27 March 2009, p. 108; MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee,* 1 June 2009, p. 119; MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee,* 6 May 2011, p. 208.

Following the 1983 report SMV retained management of St Nicholas with Burton's Almshouse and Merchants' Almshouse for around one and three decades respectively. Residents were removed from St Nicholas with Burton's in 1990, as SMV was aware of the state it was in. SMV's records indicated that, 'St Nicholas with Burton's was in a bad location and sub-standard. The long-term objective was to close St Nicholas with Burton's Almshouse leaving the Charity with two first class almshouses.'[67] The almshouse's 'bad location' and 'sub-standard' accommodation referred to the fact that the facility was not purpose-built, pavements outside were not level, and the neighbourhood was 'rowdy'.[68] The city centre location, on a street with numerous pubs and the Old Vic Theatre, was considered unsuitable by contemporary perceptions of desirable and high-quality care homes and was therefore unappealing to potential residents searching for a place through the quasi-market. In 1996 SMV leased the building to a charity working with homeless youth.[69]

Given its outdated flats as well as its location near the city centre and the harbourside, Merchants' Almshouse encountered similar challenges to St Nicholas with Burton's.[70] However, it was not until 2013, three decades after the 1983 report came out that SMV decided to sell Merchants' Almshouse.[71] Over that time of uncertainty the almshouse deteriorated and it was not until the 2010s, when SMV was transforming into an active, engaged social entrepreneurial organisation that it considered reconstructing the almshouse, looking to other organisations for support. [72] SMV explored several options for the re-provision of residential care lost at both St Nicholas with Burton and Merchants' Almshouses. It considered a partnership with Bristol City Council at Stockwood, or the construction of a new facility at Avonmouth or Kingswood, working in partnership with another charity, the Lady Haberfield Trust.[73] However, none proved feasible, with lack of viability, questions of competition from other providers and insufficient funding.[74] When none of these partnerships proved successful SMV considered its position. An entry in the

[67] MH, BoP 44, *Standing Committee*, 24 November 1989, p. 97; MH, BoP 44, *Standing Committee*, p. 149.
[68] MH, BoP 44, *Standing Committee*, 30 March 1990, pp. 116-117; MH, BoP 47, *Working Party Report on the Role of the Society*, December 1989, p. 127.
[69] MH, BoP 45, *Standing Committee,* 27 June 1996, p. 98.
[70] MH, BoP 44, *Standing Committee*, 10 December 1993, p. 382.
[71] MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee,* 27 September 2013, p. 323; MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee*, 31 January 2014, p. 340.
[72] MH, BoP 44, *Standing Committee,* 10 December 1993, p. 382; MH, BoP 46, *Standing Committee*, 29 October 2004, p. 302; MH, BoP 46, *Standing Committee*, 27 January 2006, p. 381; MH, BoP 46, *Standing Committee*, 2 June 2006, p. 400; MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee*, 28 March 2008, p. 61. MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee*, 28 September 2007 p. 35, MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee*, 30 May 2008, p. 71.
[73] MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee*, 30 October 2009, p. 138; MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee*, 6 May 2011, p. 208; MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee,* 22 March 2013, p. 302; MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee*, 26 July 2013, p. 316; MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee,* 25 October 2013, p. 327; MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee,* 28 March 2014, p. 346.
[74] MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee,* 11 December 2009, p. 146; MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee*, 29 July 2011, p. 218; MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee,* 30 March 2012, p. 252; MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee,* 27 April 2012, p. 258; MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee,* 27 July 2012, p. 270.

Standing Committee record book for 2012 indicated the path SMV wanted to follow in regards to Merchants' Almshouse: it needed to identify an area 'where both need existed and local inhabitants had the funds to buy individual units.'[75] This minuting clarified the intentions of SMV – it sought to offer charitable provision in conjunction with private, fee-paying accommodation. The conflict between philanthropic and business values asserts itself here. SMV was not looking to establish a purely charitable operation but wanted to combine it with a business endeavour. The plan failed to come to fruition, and the closure of Merchants' Almshouse led to a further reduction in the number of charitable flats available to the elderly in Bristol. The money from both the sale and the fund that was used to maintain the almshouse has been set aside, allocated for sheltered provision of elderly people, but by 2017 had not yet been directed towards a specific scheme.

By the time both Merchants' and St Nicholas with Burton's Almshouses had closed, their provision had become inadequate by 'modern' standards. Nonetheless, their closure was not followed by re-accommodation in another SMV scheme, meaning SMV's actions resulted in fewer philanthropic places in Bristol's residential care sector. The business mindset that drove SMV to consider the establishment of a combined charitable and fee-paying care home became prominent through its other endeavours with the Cote Charity and the St Monica Trust. It was in this social entrepreneurial context that SMV's familiarity and comfort with the private sector conflicted with its philanthropic purpose: arguably a result of its members' business outlook and successive governments' encouragement of the private sector to provide public services on its behalf.

The rejuvenation of Cote

These challenges will next be examined in relation to the Cote Charity, which acts as a case study of change over time in a local context, though it is couched within national trends in the provision of residential care for the elderly. In particular, this case study incorporates changes occurring on a national level, such as rising living standards, increased statutory oversight, competition and higher expectations from residents between 1979-2017. Interwoven into this discussion is the overarching argument of the chapter, the conflict between delivering philanthropic provision to under-funded local-authority residents and achieving a level of financial stability through the selling or letting of accommodation to privately-funded persons. The transformation of Cote into the new Katherine House and a dementia unit, Griffiths House, reinforced SMV's delicate position as a social entrepreneurial provider of residential care for the elderly in Bristol's quasi-market.[76]

[75] MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee,* 28 September 2012, p. 275.
[76] As Griffiths House only opened in 2016 the information available on it is limited.

SMV first became involved with the Cote Charity in 1968. During that year Bristol resident Katherine Gotch Robinson transferred 'Cote House and its grounds from her personal charity to the Society as trustee' and appointed Bristol Age Care (later called Brunelcare) as the original manager.[77] SMV's engagement with Cote was minimal for several decades. By the 1980s the Cote Charity operated two neighbouring facilities: Cote House, a seventeenth-century building that offered independent living and New Cote, a purpose-built (in 1962) facility which housed twenty-four people.[78] (See Images 5.7 to 5.8) From 1968 to 1999, references to Cote in SMV's records mainly pertained to the renewal of Brunelcare's management contract every five years.[79] Other mentions give the impression that the relationship between SMV and the Cote Charity was similar to that between SMV and the almshouses, one of facilities management rather than day-to-day oversight or interaction with residents. SMV sanctioned repairs, some building additions and upgrades and invested funds as capital endowment.[80] However, once it took charge of daily operations and management at Cote at the turn of the twenty-first century, SMV quickly proceeded to address changing expectations and needs of elderly residents in care homes. In 2000 SMV took over management responsibilities from Brunelcare.[81] Changes in SMV's membership and its desire to become more active in philanthropy led it to embark on a programme of upgrades and improvement of the accommodation at Cote and as a result, by 2017 both Cote House and New Cote had been demolished and the new Katherine House and Griffiths House erected in their place. (See Figure 5.9)

[77] The organisation that managed Cote House was known as 'Bristol Old People's Welfare', 'Bristol Age Care' and after 1998 'Brunelcare.' For purposes of clarity and consistency it will be referred to as Brunelcare throughout the chapter. MH, BoP 44, *Standing Committee,* 20 November 1992, p. 299; Bill Harrison, 'A Gift from Uganda', *Bristol Evening Post*, 17 December 2002, p. 33; Katherine House, 'Cote Charity' (2017) <http://www.katherinehouse.co.uk/about-us-cote-charity.php> [accessed 17 June 2017]
[78] Commission for Social Care Inspection, *Inspection Report: New Cote Rest Home*, 23 March 2004, p. 1.
[79] MH, BoP 41, *Standing Committee*, 11 May 1973, p. 79; MH, BoP 41, *Standing Committee*, 14 May 1976, p. 255; MH, BoP 43, *Standing Committee,* 9 December 1983, p. 80; MH, BoP 43, *Standing Committee*, 23 May 1985, p. 154.
[80] MH, BoP 44, *Standing Committee*, 20 November 1992, p. 299.
[81] MH, BoP 45, *Standing Committee*, 25 February 2000, p. 341.

Figure 5.7 Cote House

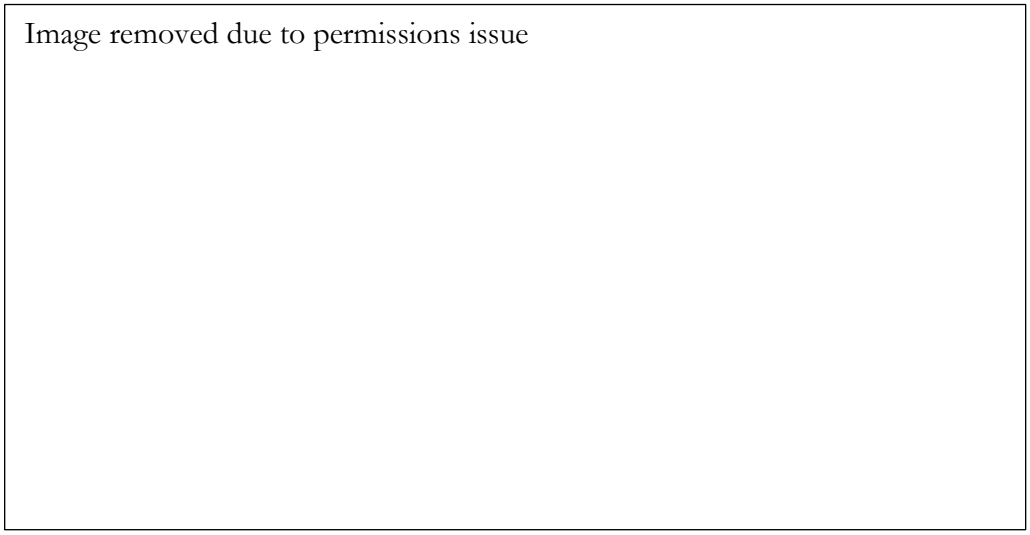
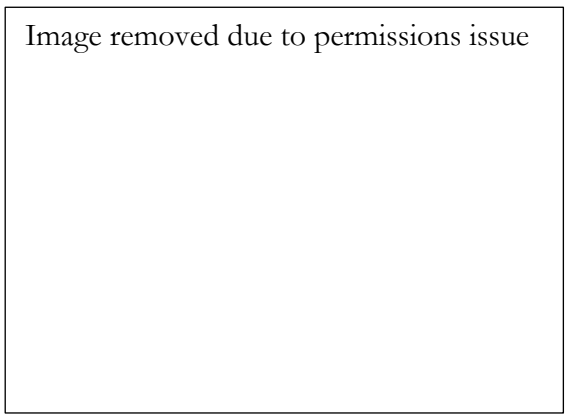


Figure 5.8 New Cote



Merchant and former Chairman of SMV's Cote Committee, Charles Densham explained SMV's relationship to the Cote Charity in the years before it became manager:

> Brunelcare ran the whole operation and really we would go along quarterly to a meeting in the dining room of Cote House, have a cup of tea, and be told by the Secretary of Brunelcare what was going on, and we all nodded wisely and went away again.[82]

Densham elaborated further on the committee's approach. 'We [the committee] had an overseeing role but we were not very hands on at all.[83] Reflecting on changes that occurred over time, he reiterated that:

> The committee is involved in more than it ever used to be. And going way back to my early days it was a very cosy little thing, you know me with my in-laws and a couple of other people I knew pretty well having a cup of tea.[84]

[82] Charles Densham Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon on 6 June 2017. Densham was a member of the Cote Committee from the late 1980s, became Chairman from circa 2003, until 2008.
[83] Charles Densham Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 6 June 2017.
[84] Charles Densham Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 6 June 2017.

Densham's recollections were echoed by another former member of the committee: 'It had all been very cosy. Is probably the best way of describing the people who were there, and the people like us who visited and so on. Now it [the committee] is much more professional.'[85] The use of the word 'cosy' by both interviewees characterised the committee as a group of people that met informally to keep up with rather than manage a charity. This image is further borne out by Densham's recollection that the group listened to and accepted reports from Brunelcare rather than directing or facilitating action. Over time that began to change. As early as 1993 the Treasurer of SMV, Brigadier Hugh Pye, proposed the idea of bringing Cote House and New Cote under SMV management to reduce expenditure.[86] Characteristic of SMV at the time, action was not immediately taken. However, by 1999 SMV was prepared to change its approach to the Cote Charity. At the end of the twentieth century and as part of SMV's broader shift towards a more active philanthropic organisation, some members of SMV were feeling invigorated by the charitable opportunities available to them and wanted to refresh the Society's purpose. They were ready to take on the provision of services and bringing new purpose and energy to a care home with which they were already connected offered a route into social entrepreneurial engagement in Bristol.

Apart from renovating Colston's Almshouse, this endeavour was SMV's first foray into active management of philanthropic residential care for the elderly in the quasi-market. By the turn of the twenty-first century, the quasi-market, with its inspections and user-oriented focus had been in place for around ten years. However, the professionalisation of philanthropic care homes and modernisation of their facilities was new to SMV. These involved both a cultural shift within the Society and the appointment of people with specialised knowledge onto the Cote committee. One early-stage challenge was to formalise and strengthen the relationship between Cote and SMV. Densham recalled the process:

> I mean it's comparatively new, from my point of view, for the Standing Committee to take so much interest in what's going on[.]…I don't remember having to go along to a Standing Committee [meeting] representing Cote. In fact, I remember when I was Chairman, the first time the Master appeared at one of my meetings. And I thought you know, why are you here? Don't you trust me?[87]

Densham's statement suggested that engagement from SMV's leadership body was an unusual and disconcerting experience for someone who was Chairman of the Cote Committee in the early 2000s. In addition to a new relationship with SMV, the composition of the committee itself began

[85] Anonymous Interviewee H, recorded by Theresa McKeon on 27 May 2017.
[86] MH, BoP 44, *Standing Committee*, 10 December 1993, p. 382.
[87] Charles Densham Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 6 June 2017.

to change. It went from comprising the managers of Brunelcare and descendants of the Robinson family to 'getting more Merchants involved.'[88] Although Densham had not recalled any difficulty in getting Merchants to engage with the committee, he did recall the challenge of identifying members who had the specialised knowledge required to successfully run a care home. In his time they had 'relied very heavily on the manager [of the home]' and a new financial director of the Cote Charity to handle the accounts and report back to SMV.[89]

In addition to finding the appropriate staff and committee members, SMV also had the responsibility of ensuring the homes were suitable for residents. By 1997 SMV felt that 'it had become clear that the facilities at Cote House were in need of review and that it would be increasingly difficult to attract residents.'[90] This pronouncement appeared to be based on rising expectations for quality of living. Cote House was an old building and the lack of ensuite facilities and the narrow corridors and stairs were not suitable for ageing residents.[91] The Chairman of the Cote Committee after Densham, Charles Griffiths, remembered the structural problems that endured into the twenty-first century:

> I suppose we looked into converting the Cote House. Into some form of care. But on six different levels[.]...You've got to have a purpose-made building. Corridors have got to be six foot wide, eight foot wide, you've got to have ensuite facilities. We're never going to change this home into something like that. Especially as it's a listed building. So what are we going to do? Unfortunately ask the people to leave and close it down.[92]

The recognition of minimal acceptable standards for residential facilities set by the government and inspected by an independent commission, as well as the limitations for upgrading a listed building, had rendered Cote House obsolete.[93] The last of the residents relocated to St Monica in 2013.[94]

As a purpose-built care-home New Cote did not pose the same insurmountable challenges as Cote House but former members of the Cote Committee recalled that its 1962 design was outdated and ill-equipped to meet twenty-first century expectations for privacy and ease of living.[95] One interviewee remembered New Cote as a 'not very suitable' building and another felt it had

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[88] Charles Densham Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 6 June 2017.
[89] Charles Densham Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 6 June 2017.
[90] MH, BoP 45, *Standing Committee*, 31 October 1997, pp. 185-186.
[91] MH, BoP 45, *Standing Committee*, 31 July 1998, p. 239.
[92] Charles Griffiths Interview recorded by Theresa McKeon, 8 June 2017. Griffiths was Chairman of the Cote Committee from 2008 to 2015, when he left to become President of the St Monica Council. Griffiths had helped manage three nursing homes for twenty years prior to becoming Chairman of the Cote Committee.
[93] MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee*, 27 April 2012, p. 258.
[94] MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee*, 22 March 2013, p. 301.
[95] 'Charity's Plans for Care Home Site', *Bristol Evening Post*, 30 July 2007; Anonymous Interviewee E, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 17 May 2017; Anonymous Interviewee H, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 27 May 2017; Charles Densham Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 6 June 2017.

been 'a terribly inefficient building.'[96] However, both interviewees also remembered New Cote as generally being filled to capacity and one reminisced over pleasant communal living facilities and a building that was 'of its time.'[97] From this statement we can ascertain that a 1962 build was no longer appropriate in the twenty-first century, after decades of improvement in living standards and rising expectations. Yet a 2004 report from the Commission for Social Care Inspection (CSCI) also commented positively on New Cote. The report noted that residents ate high-quality meals and added that 'New Cote Residential Home had made good progress in meeting the national minimum standards for toilet and bath facilities.'[98] At that time it was not a requirement for existing care homes to offer ensuite bathrooms.[99] Therefore, in 2004 New Cote met statutory standards and was seen by the inspecting body and former committee members to offer good quality accommodation.

The interviewees' descriptions of the building as 'unsuitable' and 'inefficient' came as retrospective recollections so it is difficult to ascertain whether any of the interviewees formed their opinions prior to New Cote's demolition and the construction of the modern and specialised Katherine House. However, the archival records show that in January 2005 members of the Cote Committee planned to tear down New Cote and replace it with a specialised home.[100] That was less than a year after it had received a positive inspection. These records indicate that although influenced by wider-sector changes, improvement to Cote was initiated by SMV. It was a significant development for an organisation that only five years previously had been relatively inactive with regards to Cote's management, and in 2005 still struggled over the future direction of the almshouses. The Committee's newly developed pro-active and professional approach vastly improved the structural aspect of the Cote Charity while care standards remained high within the home's new walls.

New Cote closed in 2009 after the new facility, called Katherine House after the charity's founder, had been completed. A dementia unit, Griffith's House, was added in 2016. Keeping New Cote open while Katherine House was built allowed the residents to move directly into a brand new, purpose-built retirement home comprised of forty single ensuite rooms.[101]

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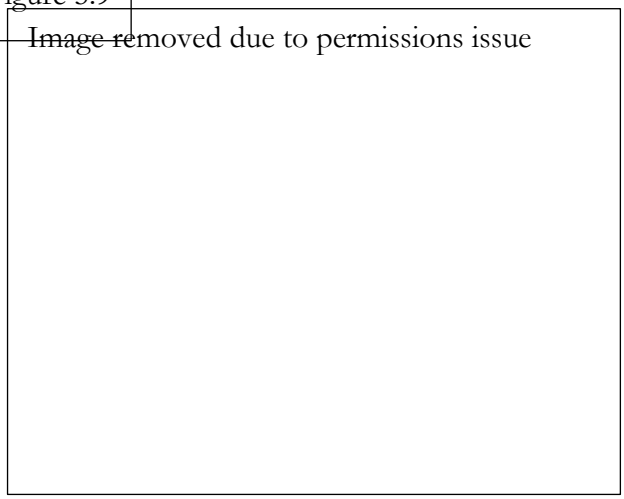
[96] Anonymous Interviewee E, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 17 May 2017; Anonymous Interviewee H, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 27 May 2017.
[97] Anonymous Interviewee E, 17 May 2017; Anonymous Interviewee H, 27 May 2017.
[98] CSCI, *Unannounced Inspection: New Cote,* 2004, pp. 24, 28.
[99] Department of Health, *Care Homes for Older People: National Minimum Standards*, 3rd edn, 2003, pp. 22-23.
[100] MH, BoP, *Standing Committee*, 28 January 2005, p. 320.
[101] Katherine House now has forty one rooms following the partial conversion of a large lounge. MH, BoP 46, *Standing Committee,* 2 June 2006, p. 398; MH, BoP 46, *Standing Committee*, 27 October 2006, p. 417; Care Quality Commission, *Katherine House Inspection Report*, 2 February 2010, p. 2; MH, BoP 46, *Standing Committee,* 2 June 2006, p. 398; MH, BoP 46, *Standing Committee*, 27 October 2006, p. 417; Follow up email received from Charles Densham 27 July 2017.

Interviewees perceived that change came to the Cote Charity not just from the opening of a new building, but in the nature of services provided therein:

> I found it quite interesting in that the, whereas the old New Cote, the residents we had perhaps two or three who were not quite with it. The rest were very with it. But feeble in body but not in mind as it were[.]…Now, it's very much catering for the *older* person who really needs *help*.[102]

For this interviewee the opening of Katherine House hailed not just a new living environment, but one that provided a professionalised service to elderly people who needed assistance in performing everyday tasks of living and personal care.

Figure 5.9 Katherine House and Griffith's House



SMV's transformation into a social entrepreneurial provider of residential care was aided through its new membership criteria that admitted professionals alongside businessmen. It appointed SMV member and care home management specialist Charles Griffiths to the position of Cote Committee Chair in 2008. The Committee was able to incorporate his twenty years of experience into the design and construction of Katherine House, which further facilitated the modernisation of the charity.[103] In addition, Griffiths felt that capable management and the maintenance of a relationship between the Committee, trustees and the staff and residents at Katherine House was a vital aspect of success. During an unannounced inspection in 2013 (when Griffiths was Chairman) the CQC verified that trustees were involved with the home:

> We were shown monthly provider quality assurance monitoring visit records. The manager told us that a trustee (board member) visited the home and reviewed the quality of the service[.]...These are the standards that the Care Quality Commission use to make a

[102] Emphasis placed on word by interviewee. Anonymous Interviewee H, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 27 May 2017.
[103] Charles Griffiths Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 8 June 2017.

> judgement about compliance. This demonstrated that the provider was actively involved in the monitoring of the quality of the service being provided.[104]

This statement from the CQC indicated that SMV's Cote Committee was meeting statutory standards and expectations.

In fewer than fifteen years the Cote Charity had made notable progress towards professionalisation and modernisation under SMV's leadership. However, it faced numerous challenges in the quasi-market. As a smaller provider Katherine House missed some pathways to training resources and policies known about by larger providers. Griffiths felt that new regulations and statutory requirements were easily missed by Cote and believed a relationship with St Monica or another large provider could be beneficial. Speaking specifically of training techniques, he outlined the advantage of such a relationship: 'You don't know where to look for them. You don't even know they're happening perhaps. So this is where we could link in with St Monica's a lot more.'[105] Densham considered the same possibility.[106] The potential value of working relationships between small and larger providers was also recognised outside of Cote. In a report from the King's Fund, Humphries argued that if larger homes provided smaller ones with training on and implementation of new policies into staff guidelines, employees might perform better and potentially improve the reputation of the home, via CQC ratings.[107] Linkage between small and large providers potentially led to improved services yet also encouraged small providers to depend on their larger counterparts, increasing the latters' influence across the care-home sector.

Of course, access to training resources was only one challenge facing small providers on the quasi-market. As a social entrepreneurial organisation SMV's approach to Cote resulted in tension between its members' business expertise and its provision of high-quality care for elderly people in need. With limited statutory funding Cote, managed by SMV, sought to reconcile private-sector values and philanthropic purpose. It aimed to offer an environment that could compete with other providers and attain efficient expenditure while meeting the complex health care needs of many residents, some of whom did not have access to substantial financial resources. These people were a small minority: Katherine House reserved approximately four out of its forty-one rooms for local authority funded residents, who could not otherwise afford a place.[108] The safeguarding of accommodation for under-funded local authority residents demonstrates Cote's charitable purpose. Conversely, this practice means only ten per cent of the residents selected

[104] Care Quality Commission, *Katherine House Inspection Report*, 30 July 2013, p. 15.
[105] Charles Griffiths Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 8 June 2017.
[106] Charles Densham Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 6 June 2017.
[107] Humphries, *Social Care for Older People*, p. 34.
[108] MH, *Care of the Elderly Sub-Committee*, 3 March 2016.

come from the local authority. At Griffith's House, the eight-bed dementia unit adjacent to Katherine House, local-authority funded residents are accepted, but there is not a set number of places reserved for them.[109] The low number of residents in receipt of charitable funding, compared to those paying privately, resulted from Cote's aim to balance philanthropy with sustainable business practices, allowing it to remain operational for the foreseeable future. However, it did place Cote in a conflicting situation. In 2012, the Standing Committee minutes recorded that the charity had a sixth month surplus of £77,000, against a budget of £35,000. They continued, noting that '[t]hese results indicated that the charity was somewhere between a not-for-profit organisation and a commercial organisation, with charges being approximately £100 per week below the market rate.'[110] Five years later in 2017, the charity had a permanent endowment of £3,246,054 and spent 76 per cent of its £2.1 million income of that year on charitable activities. The other 24 per cent was retained for future use.[111] Though spending considerably on charity, Cote could ostensibly provide more rooms to under-funded local authority residents but sought long-term financial security and a viable business model.

Although the establishment of the quasi-market drove forward improvement in the structural aspect and professionalisation of the Cote Charity, it also placed SMV in a delicate position. SMV's pursuit of a long-term viable business model led it to market Cote to paying residents and limited its intake of local authority-funded residents to four, bringing the philanthropic aspect of its social entrepreneurial purpose into question. This tension between philanthropy and private-sector practices extended beyond the Cote Charity. Another Bristol provider, The St Monica Trust, was similarly shaped by friction that developed between business and social care perspectives. However, St Monica was in a unique position. It was and is a large philanthropic provider of residential care, though its considerable endowment is managed by SMV. The historically ambiguous division of responsibilities between the two separate charities resulted in a long-drawn out conflict between philanthropic and private-sector values.

'Blood on the carpet': tension between SMV and the St Monica Trust

The St Monica Trust was a charity founded by Monica and Henry Wills of Wills Tobacco Company in the early twentieth century. In 1922 Henry Wills had appointed SMV manager of the Trust's endowment.[112] Its job was to focus on investment strategy to generate income for the

[109] Griffith's House, 'Frequently Asked Questions', (2018) < http://www.griffithshouse.co.uk/contact.php>
[110] MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee*, 26 October 2012, p. 281.
[111] Charity Commission, 'The Cote Charity', (2017) < http://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?regid=257237&subid=0>; The Cote Charity, *Annual Report and Financial Statements for the Year Ended 31 December 2017*, p. 12.
[112] St Monica Trust, 'Our Charitable Status', (2017) < http://www.stmonicatrust.org.uk/why-were-different/our-charitable-status> [accessed 28 July 2017]

endowment and to finance extensions and improvements to St Monica's care home.[113] However, after 1990 SMV attempted to expand its role to one of oversight. The question of who had the right to manage the provision of residential care for the elderly - an organisation comprised of business experts and providing financial support (SMV) or one drawn from social care experts already providing care (St Monica) - formed the basis of a long and acrimonious debate between members of SMV. The conflict developed after the central government's introduction of the quasi-market for care homes. As discussed, under this system local authorities searched for places for publicly-funded residents in charitable and private-sector homes, a practice that continued into the twenty-first century. This section explores the tension that developed between SMV and the St Monica Trust over how to manage and use expenditure for residential care for the elderly at the end of the twentieth century and beginning of the twenty-first.

Similar to the Cote Charity and SMV's almshouses, St Monica spent much of the twentieth century maintaining the status-quo in care-home provision. Following the expansion of the private sector and the restrictions placed on local authorities with the creation of the quasi-market in 1990, St Monica carved out a notable role for itself in Bristol's care-home sector. Between 2004 and 2017 it rapidly expanded from one to five different care home sites. In 2004 St Monica added to its original Cote Lane site a development at Westbury Fields. It constructed another facility, Monica Wills House in 2006, established Sandford Station in 2010 and most recently opened the Chocolate Quarter in 2017.[114] By then St Monica operated specialised retirement villages, dementia facilities and domiciliary care for over 1,100 elderly people across these five sites in Bristol and the surrounding areas.[115] Different homes appealed to different kinds of residents. The independent living option catered to the affluent and active elderly, whilst assisted living schemes reserved rooms for the ill, infirm, and local authority residents in need of high-quality nursing care, otherwise unable to meet the cost. Funding for local-authority residents and others requiring charitable maintenance was drawn from cross-subsidisation of fees and from the Trust's endowment.

Overseeing the endowment and running the five sites were separate aspects of St Monica's work, placing SMV's involvement with the Trust into two distinct, yet complex areas. As endowment trustee SMV generated funds to be used to charitably support residents of St Monica.

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[113] MH, BoP 41, *Special Meeting*, 13 June 1972, pp. 28-30; MH, BoP 41, *Standing Committee*, 27 July 1972, p. 36; MH, BoP 41, *Special Meeting*, 7 May 1973 pp. 77-79; MH, BoP 41, *Standing Committee*, 12 October 1973, pp. 100-101.
[114] Kirsty Pugh, "'Village" for Older Folk Shows how to Care', *Bristol Evening Post*, 12 April 2006, p. 22; MH, Development and Construction Committee, *Committee Meeting*, 10 February 2010, p. 2; 'Future is Starting to Take Shape at Chocolate Quarter', *Bristol Post*, 24 April 2017, pp. 18-19.
[115] St Monica Trust, About Us, 2017 < http://www.stmonicatrust.org.uk/why-were-different/about-us>; Society of Merchant Venturers, *Care for Older People*, 2017 < http://merchantventurers.com/charitable-activities/care-for-older-people/>

Although this process appears philanthrocapitalist in nature, SMV receives renumeration for this work, so its role in this capacity is not strictly charitable. Yet alongside Colston's Almshouse, Cote Charity and its two secondary academies, Merchants' Academy and Colston's Girls' School, some members of SMV did make a social entrepreneurial contribution to St Monica by voluntarily serving on its leadership body, the Council. SMV and St Monica each nominated six representatives who were joined by three additional appointments from the Bishops of Bath and Wells, Bristol and Gloucester to form the Council of St Monica Trust, its board of trustees.[116] The Council could utilise the financial and commercial knowledge and expertise of SMV while the actual management of the homes and the delivery of services were and remain the responsibility of St Monica. However, due to the ambiguity of the wording in the original 1922 deed poll, debate arose amongst some members of SMV over its right and responsibility to manage St Monica's operations as well as the endowment. Bitter argument arose over this topic in the early 1990s and again between 2000 and 2003, ultimately resulting in a new legal framework outlining the duties of the two separate organisations.

The 1981 Standing Committee minutes recorded SMV's role within The St Monica Trust as one that 'managed capital and current income and dealt with all capital payments' and 'provided the home with funds to meet expenditure.'[117] For this service SMV was paid an annual fee, intended to cover the cost of the Merchants' time and to generate income for SMV to spend on its own affairs.[118] The surcharge was seen to be necessary for the maintenance of Merchants' Hall and the operation of the Society. Clerk Robert Drewett explained:

> The Society has always looked at these charities as providing income to enable them to operate. If the Society didn't have the management fees it charges the charities, especially St Monica, it would struggle, well it would make a material difference to the way in which the Society operated. So they're an important element to the Society's income.[119]

This testimony indicates that SMV is somewhat dependent on its connection to St Monica in order to generate its own income. However, some Merchants and employees of SMV perceived the fee as a controversial aspect of SMV's work and a barrier to its authority over St Monica. Former Treasurer Richard Morris spoke of the dilemma:

> And if you control an organisation but receive remuneration for it, that's not a starting point for the Charity Commission. So there's this big debate and as a result the nomination

[116] St Monica Trust, 'Our Charitable Status', (2017) < http://www.stmonicatrust.org.uk/why-were-different/our-charitable-status> [accessed 28 July 2017]
[117] MH, BoP 42, *Standing Committee*, 4 Sep 1981 p. 268.
[118] MH, BoP 43, *Standing Committee*, 11 March 1983 p. 35; MH, BoP 43, *Standing Committee*, 6 Jan 1984, p. 83.
[119] Robert Drewett Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon 23 June 2017. Drewett is not a member of SMV but a solicitor who began working with SMV in 1987 and took over as Clerk in 1993. He also provided counsel to the St Monica Trust so was very familiar with both organisations.

> rights were changed so the Merchant Venturers became a minority[.]…they were a minority of nominees. But retained control of the endowment.[120]

President of the Council of St Monica, Charles Griffiths explained his view:

> We can't be endowment trustees and then take a fee for what we're doing from ourselves, you know what I mean? It would be totally wrong for us to negotiate and set our own fee. So St Monica's got to be independent to be able to set a fee for the endowment trustees to do it.[121]

Despite the fact that SMV had a conflict of interest barring it from managing St Monica, some members still pushed for greater SMV influence. The 1922 deed poll, the document that was intended to clarify the responsibilities of the two organisations, was, in actuality, ambiguous. Former Clerk to SMV, Simon Awdry, explained why he believed tensions surfaced over the terms of the deed poll:

> The deed poll set up the Council to run the home and it made the Society the trustee of the endowment also with the power to appoint…certainly a large chunk of the Council[.]…a deed poll I suspect leaves a slightly uneasy situation, gives scope for people to argue about it.[122]

Conflict arose over this grey area in the 1990s. Concerns were raised among members of SMV over the fact that although the Society provided funds, it did not have a say in how they were spent.[123] Drewett observed the simmering tension:

> And there was always this uncomfortable relationship with, or slightly prickly relationship with the Society. So you had St Monica Council responsible for running the home, and you had the Society responsible for looking after the endowment fund of the charity. And the reason there would be tension was that from time to time, members of the Standing Committee would question the way in which the home was being run. And whether it was being run efficiently.[124]

SMV member McArthur also commented on the financial situation and uncertainty over the two organisations' respective responsibilities:

> So the relationship with St Monica was something that was never very clearly explained to me. Or to anybody else[.]…We knew that we were responsible for looking after the investments. And that was our, that was a major responsibility we had. What exactly our responsibility was looking [after] and running the homes, or the home, as it was at that stage, we didn't know. And it wasn't explained to us. And anyways, cut a long story short, there was some unhappiness one year because it seemed to us the expenditure of the place

[120] Richard Morris Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon 17 November 2016.
[121] Charles Griffiths Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 8 June 2017.
[122] It is unclear what year Awdry referred to, but he retired in 1993 so it would have been prior to that. Simon Awdry Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 29 July 2016.
[123] MH, BoP 45, *Standing Committee*, 25 May 1995, p. 30; MH, BoP 45, *Standing Committee*, 30 June 1995, p. 35; MH, BoP 45, *Standing Committee*, 28 July 1995, p. 39.
[124] Robert Drewett Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 23 June 2017.

> was going completely out of control. And we were being asked to raise, to increase it and [it was] totally impossible amounts of income.[125]

SMV's concerns over St Monica's expenditure form a significant aspect of this historical investigation of the tension that arose between business values and the provision of welfare services following the introduction of the quasi-market through the 1990 NHS and Community Care Act. It was SMV's responsibility to oversee the endowment and provide funds for St Monica to operate suitable premises and provide charitable care for an ageing population. But by the early 1990s the Society had begun to question the costs associated with care levels at the original Cote Lane site, which it felt to be much higher than other care homes in the area.[126] From out of SMV's frustration grew the desire to manage St Monica in its entirety, going beyond its remit as endowment trustee to run the care side of the charity. The idea was not popular with the St Monica Trustees, which included some members of SMV, making for a tense situation within the Hall.

One interviewee had been a member of the St Monica Council in the 1990s and recalled that he had been 'pretty dissatisfied with the way it was run.'[127] They elaborated:

> The year's [precise year unknown] profits had been £200,000 or something like that but when the accounts came up in March it showed an even greater loss. £300,000, and I was convinced the whole place had been badly run.[128]

McArthur reflected on what he felt was the exorbitant cost of running the home:

> I mean certainly St Monica was an absolute drain on resources, it was unbelievable. For no good - you know for the number of patients we had in there it was just ridiculous[.]…The number of staff you needed to run this [building] and everything else. It was just totally unsuitable. And we were looking after x number of people, pretty happily, but it was costing an absolute fortune to run. It needed a complete overhaul.[129]

McArthur felt effective management from SMV was a key part of controlling expenditure and not running at a loss. 'How the heck do you do that [focus only on the investments] when you have no control over the expenditures struck me as being absolutely ridiculous.'[130] It was evident from these recollections that some SMV members had become dissatisfied with St Monica in the early 1990s on financial grounds and saw merit in the idea of oversight to reduce expenditure and improve efficiency.

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[125] Dayrell McAthur Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 4 July 2016.
[126] MH, BoP 45, *Standing Committee*, 4 December 1998, p. 266; MH, BoP 45, *Standing Committee*, 26 Feb 1999, p. 276; MH, BoP 44, *Standing Committee*, 28 May 1993, pp. 338-339.
[127] Anonymous Interviewee I, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 24 May 2016.
[128] Anonymous Interviewee I, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 24 May 2016.
[129] Dayrell McAthur Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 4 July 2016.
[130] Dayrell McAthur Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 4 July 2016.

However, Drewett did not perceive St Monica to be complacent with regards to its expenditure, recalling that Sir John Wills, SMV member and President of the Council in the mid-1990s, had been aware of the problems and wanted to address them from the St Monica side. Merchant Roger Smedley believed the first step Wills took in reforming the finances of St Monica was appointing him the leader of a new Way Ahead Committee to explore the future viability of St Monica.[131] Nevertheless, Smedley's 1998 report to SMV confirmed the fears of members such as McArthur:

> The issue which had been highlighted was whether it was appropriate for the bulk of the Charity's income to be spent on the eighty-six residents of the nursing home. The costs of keeping a person in the nursing home equated, in broad terms, to £820 per week whilst the maximum charge to a resident was £450 per week. This sum was further reduced based on the means of the residents. An initial study had indicated that other nursing homes in the area were charging no more than £500 per week. This raised issues as to whether the Charity was obtaining value for money.[132]

The report questioned St Monica's expenses as well as raising concerns over the intake of residents. 'It had emerged that the previous management had made various verbal undertakings to residents and staff concerning their future treatment [at the Cote Lane site]'.[133] This finding indicated that informal care arrangements for residents and staff were part of the system, an unprofessional practice that some SMV members sought to reform alongside the Trust's spending practices.

Care itself was an area that Robert Bernays, who was President of the Council of St Monica after Sir John Wills, thought required attention. 'Actually, the care that was being provided, contrary to everybody's expectation, was substandard[.]...One of the matrons had been disregarding bullying on an absolutely horrendous scale.'[134] In the early 2000s Bernays and the new CEO worked closely with the care inspectorate to rectify the situation. Part of the improvement included making staff redundancies, hiring specialists, getting the level of care up to modern standards and trying to run the service more economically. He was assisted by Smedley, who, on behalf of St Monica's Way Ahead Committee had acted as manager of the home for three months until a specialist could be appointed to the role.[135] Bernays' recollection of SMV's desire to improve the situation added a new dimension to the memories and perceptions already recorded. 'The Merchants were, with some wonderful exceptions, not much help. They hated the change. They

[131] Roger Smedley Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 2 August 2017.
[132] MH, BoP 45, *Standing Committee*, 4 December 1998, p. 266
[133] MH, BoP, 45 *Standing Committee*, 26 February 1999, p. 276.
[134] Robert Bernays Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 30 May 2017. Bernays was Master of SMV from 1996-1997 and President of the Council of St Monica from 1998 to 2010.
[135] MH, BoP 45, *Standing Committee*, 30 July 1999, p. 300; Roger Smedley Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 2 August 2017.

couldn't see the point of it.'[136] He felt SMV had a preference for the status-quo and that it did not want to change the facility where friends and relatives of Merchants had been housed. His viewpoint was not necessarily at odds with the displeasure some SMV members expressed over finances: interviewees stated money was poorly administered but did not elaborate on levels of care. Arguably, members of SMV, including those on the Council had either been disconnected from the care aspect of St Monica's work at the time, approved the quality of service or more vividly remembered finance as the key concern of the time. Bernays may also have been referring to SMV members who were not a part of the debate over finances and who simply wanted St Monica's to run as it always had. In any case, in the 1990s SMV as an organisation was not fully involved in or knowledgeable about the provision of care. Though individual members such as Smedley and Bernays had experience and insight from the St Monica side of the relationship, SMV had not yet taken over management of Cote or completed the modernisation of the almshouses.

If SMV gained control over expenditure it would necessarily have to become more involved in day-to-day aspects of running the home, potentially adjusting services, quality of care and staffing. Yet there were members of SMV who served on the St Monica Council who were opposed to SMV influence in these areas. They preferred that SMV focus on its speciality of investment and managing the endowment and leave St Monica to address the care and management side of the operation. The difference in opinion over where SMV's responsibilities lay was fuelled by the lack of clarity from the deed poll over which organisation had ultimate authority over the Council's actions. The scope for disagreement was considerable and further exacerbated by a clash of personalities. Awdry remembered, 'I think that the Society from time to time wanted to keep, have control[.]…depending on the personalities involved.'[137] The tension between different personalities, in favour of either a business or care-focused outlook of St Monica were captured in the memories of those who were present at the time.

Bernays, former President of the Council and SMV member who advocated for the independence of St Monica, remembered:

> And several Merchants thought we were just trying to undermine the Merchants. Which wasn't the purpose at all. But it was that the Council needed to have real expertise and a real drive about care. Which is something the Merchants don't have[.]…their [SMV's] skill is to provide other skills to come onto the Council. Which now they're doing brilliantly.[138]

Bernays took the viewpoint that the Council's work needed to be driven by care professionals, while SMV was more suited to managing investments. An important role, but one that should be

[136] Robert Bernays Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 30 May 2017.
[137] Simon Awdry Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 29 July 2016.
[138] Robert Bernays Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 30 May 2017.

kept separate from decisions about welfare and the running of the home. Employees of SMV also witnessed the debates over St Monica's management and the internal struggle for control. Drewett observed that:

> The Council were the people who were actually dealing with the hands on, day-to-day business of who goes into the home, how does the home operate. And alongside that you had the endowment fund which was being managed by SMV. But there were certain people in the Society who didn't share that. They took the view that the intention had always been that the Society would be the dominant partner, and that it was the Society who knew best and that they would be the people who would make the ultimate decisions about the charity.[139]

Drewett's account revealed considerable scope for conflict between SMV and St Monica, particularly through his observation that some members of SMV had felt the Society was better equipped than the Council to run the charity. A former Treasurer also witnessed some SMV members' ambitions to run the Council of The St Monica Trust:

> So I would say, whilst there was an independent Council of St Monica, running St Monica, the Merchant Venturers thought it was theirs[.]…The Merchants felt, well we run the endowments, we've made masses of money for St Monica, and frankly we really run St Monica. And when the Charity Commission said "you can't do that", you sort of had civil war[.]…it was Merchant v Merchant.[140]

SMV comprised a group of businessmen whose expertise lay outside of residential care for the elderly, yet some members sought control of an organisation specialising in it. One possible explanation for their pursuit of control was that those people were used to maintaining a position of leadership in their affairs. In addition, they supported the pre-eminence of SMV in the relationship between the two organisations in this burgeoning area of their activities. The Treasurer believed the struggle for dominance escalated into a full-blown argument, a 'civil war', in which relationships were tested. Smedley reflected that 'it was an internal family issue. That's what was so emotional about it.'[141] The idea that the conflict could shatter the peace of a long-standing society and lead, to Bernays' figurative and evocative assessment of 'blood on the carpet everywhere,' demonstrated the complexity and emotionally charged nature of the debate between a private business-oriented outlook and that geared towards welfare provision.[142] Such descriptive testimony illustrates the heightened level of tension that developed between SMV and proponents of St Monica as the two bodies, one with private-sector expertise, the other care-based, fought for the right to control the work of a philanthropic organisation specialising in elderly care. This clash

[139] Robert Drewett Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 23 June 2017.
[140] Richard Morris Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 17 November 2016.
[141] Roger Smedley Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon 2 August 2017.
[142] Robert Bernays Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 30 May 2017.

in opinion was a significant aspect of SMV's history, occurring at a pivotal point in its transformation into an active social entrepreneurial organisation.

The dispute between SMV members over the right of the endowment trustee to influence the expenditure of income generated through its investments made a dramatic impression on both bystanders and those involved in the conflict. Some of their memories may appear somewhat sensationalised but it is essential to consider that at the time of this struggle SMV was just coming into a new era of involvement of its philanthropic work. The old mentality of a gentlemen's club was slowly being shed and a more active and dynamic organisation was emerging. SMV was just beginning to get involved with academies, and a fresh sense of zeal and purpose from active members arguably prompted calls to action in other areas of SMV's work. Conversely, an era of upheaval and uncertainty about the Society's role was liable to result in a feeling amongst some Merchants that they needed to retain what they knew and achieve control over the more traditional aspects of their work. A mixture of these emotions alongside a mere sense of propriety likely fuelled the disagreement. Clarity and a firm interpretation to the question of control lay in the analysis of the old deed poll and consultation from the Charity Commission.

In 2003 the Charity Commission addressed the question of SMV authority, including the remuneration SMV received for managing the endowment:

> 'The Charity Commission's concern, as expressed, was that the Society should not be in a position, through their representation on Council, to control the issue of the fees to be paid to the Society by way of reimbursement of its expenses.'[143]

However, the complication of the management fee was not the only barrier SMV faced to attaining ultimate control over the Council. The debate over the language of the deed poll was settled when the Charity Commission confirmed that SMV's organisational role was to act only as trustee to the endowment. Welfare considerations and management decisions were to be taken by St Monica.[144]

Nevertheless, SMV was granted the right to appoint six nominees to a Council of fifteen, individuals who would act in a social entrepreneurial capacity by making a commitment to use their expertise to aid in the running of St Monica. The Council was not granted veto rights granted for SMV's choices. Although the charity scheme stated that SMV could be dismissed as endowment trustee if it did not perform its duty satisfactorily, it would still retain its nomination rights for members on the Council.[145] A breakdown in the relationship between SMV and St Monica would undoubtedly affect the Council's operations and such a decision would not be taken

[143] MH, BoP 46, *Standing Committee*, 30 May 2003, p. 185.
[144] Charity Commission, *St Monica Trust: Annual Report and Financial Statements 2016*, p. 1; MH, BoP 46, Standing Committee, 30 April 2004, p. 269.
[145] The Charity Commission, *Governing Scheme for St Monica Trust*, 5 August 2004, pp. 3-4; MH, BoP 46, *Standing Committee*, 28 July 2003, p. 203.

lightly. SMV had operated successfully as trustee of the endowment for decades, therefore failure on that count seemed unlikely. For example, in 2017 St Monica's net assets were valued at £297.3 million, with £6.3 million in income.[146] These considerable sums were indicative of St Monica's wealth and led to conflict between members of the Council of St Monica Trust.[147] The business-oriented SMV focused on accruing capital while the trustees in charge of care saw an opportunity to expand charitable provision for an ageing population in need of assistance financing their care. The conflict over how to prioritise the income from the endowment fund reveals the ongoing tension between private sector and philanthropic values in the provision of residential care of the elderly that continued after the Charity Commission's 2003 clarification of SMV's subordinate role in its relationship with the St Monica Trust.

The endowment's purpose - tension between business and philanthropic values

In 2003 the Charity Commission confirmed SMV's role as one of endowment trustee for St Monica, yet conflict over the purpose of the endowment fund and the way it was to be used persists to the present day. Oral history testimony demonstrates SMV awareness of its finance-focused role on the Council and the way in which ingrained private-sector practices impacted the level of charitable funding available to St Monica. This section examines the ability of SMV to use its business mindset and position as endowment trustee to influence St Monica's role in the quasi-market as a philanthropic provider for residential care of the elderly. I particularly focus on its financial model of selling flats to self-funders, generating funds which could be used partly to cross-subsidise local authority-funded residents. The tension that continued between SMV as endowment trustee and St Monica as a philanthropic provider after the Charity Commission's 2003 clarification of roles is indicative of an entrenched friction between philanthropic and private-sector values that developed from a cross-party consensus of welfare state retrenchment policies from the 1979 onwards.

Interviewees differentiated between St Monica's and SMV's responsibilities yet in practice it seemed the situation was far more complicated than some of the testimony initially suggested. Bernays explained that SMV had a clear role to fill:

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[146] The Charity Commission, *St Monica Trust: Annual Report and Financial Statements 2017*, p. 18.

[147] The value of St Monica's net assets and unrestricted income rose year on year between 2013 and 2017, the timeframe for which this financial information is available through the Charity Commission. In 2013 net assets were £232.8 million, unrestricted income 5.7 million. The figures for 2014 were £236.3 million and £5.58 million, respectively. In 2015 net assets were £246.2 million, income £6.27 million. In 2016 the numbers were £272.4 million and £6.10 million. The Charity Commission, *St Monica Trust: Annual Report and Financial Statements 2013*, p. 14; The Charity Commission, *St Monica Trust: Annual Report and Financial Statements 2014,* p. 15; The Charity Commission, *St Monica Trust: Annual Report and Financial Statements 2015,* p. 15; The Charity Commission, *St Monica Trust: Annual Report and Financial Statements 2016,* pp. 15-16.

> The Council is actually, at least we felt it was, the top body, they actually employ the endowment trustees who are the Merchants, and always have been and one hopes always will be. But they are looking after the endowment, they're not looking after the charity.[148]

This perception was echoed by Griffiths:

> [I]t was decided that the SMV are just the endowment, they look after the endowment. So the Council are all powerful. Whether you like it or not. So we tell the endowment trustees what to do, i.e. we tell SMV what to do. SMV don't tell us what to do.[149]

For Drewett the legal resolution paved the way for a more productive and less tense relationship. 'It was helpful in reminding SMV that they are not the trustee, the trustee is the Council. And it's the Council that therefore takes the decisions. And that helped clear the air'.[150] He added:

> Even if you're appointed by the SMV, once you accept that appointment, your duty as a trustee is to the charity. You have no obligations to the appointing body. And that's a point which I think the SMV members of St Monica get.[151]

Although interviewees understood the terms of the role ascribed to SMV by the Charity Commission, in practice the relationship between SMV and St Monica was more complex and fluid than that of a superior and its subordinate.

> For Morris the relationship between the two organisations was based in mutual need:
>
> And so the endowment had actually quite a powerful position but ultimately subordinate to the Council[.]…so St Monica is independent, but is very dependent on the Merchant Venturers. Conversely, Merchant Venturers are very dependent on St Monica if only because of the money. And reputation.[152]

Like Morris, Smallwood believed the two organisations needed one another in order to act as a viable and high-quality provider of residential care services for the elderly, commentating that SMV's financial knowledge was 'really important in being able to help St Monica's to be able to do what it does.'[153] Certainly, the income from the endowment was essential for the provision of services, and through its role as endowment trustee SMV benefitted from its charitable connection to St Monica, a significant part of its work with care homes. If SMV no longer ran the endowment it would reflect badly on its credibility as a philanthropic contributor to residential care of the elderly as well as raise questions about its financial management capabilities. Therefore, both SMV and St Monica have strong incentives to maintain a functioning relationship with one another, despite the disparity in their goals. The struggle to maintain a balance between the accrual of capital

[148] Robert Bernays Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon 30 May 2017.
[149] Charles Griffiths Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 8 June 2017.
[150] Robert Drewett Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 23 June 2017.
[151] Robert Drewett Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 23 June 2017.
[152] Richard Morris Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 17 November 2016.
[153] Trevor Smallwood Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 27 February 2017. Smallwood was President of the Council of St Monica and was Master of SMV from 2008-2009.

resources for the endowment fund versus using large portions of the money generated to pay for care is at the heart of the complex partnership between SMV and St Monica.

Interviewees provided further examples of the ways in which conflict persisted between SMV and St Monica after 2003:

> As the holders of the purse strings effectively, the Merchants do have oversight, or they're in the position of being able to challenge anything that the Council suggests. The difference on the way it's working is that they can't prevent the Council if the Council is determined and can't persuade the SMV then in fact the Council would win but we've never been anywhere near that.[154]

This assessment concluded that SMV members, aware of their seemingly subordinate position on the Council are also conscious of ways to retain subtle forms of control with regards to expenditure. Another way in which SMV exercised influence was through strategic selection of its appointees to the Council. Griffiths elaborated:

> I think we realised as Merchants that we are the businesspeople and therefore we need to keep hold of being the President. So one of our nominations we would like to be president. And one of our nominations we would like to be the Finance Committee Chair. Because those are the two important business things[.]…So I think if I'm honest we try and choose people to go on who either know something about nursing homes or care, which are few and far between, or we choose someone who is likely to become Chair of Finance or President.[155]

In this way, SMV ensured that it retained an influential position in business and finance on the Council, with non-SMV members representing other areas of knowledge such as care.[156]

With SMV members' background in business and appointed to roles such as President and Finance Chair, there was room for disagreement between SMV and St Monica over what SMV wanted to achieve and what the care-focused Council wanted SMV to achieve. In its role as endowment trustee, SMV was perceived by interviewees and to a lesser extent represented through the Standing Committee minutes as protecting the growth of capital funds at the expense of making larger sums of money available for charitable use. At any one time, St Monica set a goal (and based on the data available, met) to have approximately 70 per cent fee-paying residents alongside 30 per cent of residents (all of whom received care) nominated through the local authority. Actual numbers differed based on the availability of accommodation at any given time.[157]

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[154] Robert Bernays Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 30 May 2017.
[155] Charles Griffiths Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 8 June 2017.
[156] Non-SMV Council members included a surgeon and part time CQC inspector and a dementia doctor. Such healthcare specialists focused on care and services, and the Bishops' appointments on pastoral care. Charles Griffiths Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 8 June 2017; Robert Drewett Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 23 June 2017.
[157] The actual numbers may flux due to availability at the time of a prospective resident's enquiry. MH, *St Monica Council*, 3 October 2012. p. 5.

However, the target was confirmed in St Monica's annual report to the Charity Commission in 2016 when it stated that 36 per cent of people in its homes were financially supported by the Trust.[158]

For some members of the Council, more could be done to increase St Monica's philanthropic work, particularly in the way the funds from the endowment were used. Griffiths, SMV member and President of the Council, was caught between clashing viewpoints. Straddling the boundary between business and social care, Griffiths' perspective offered first-hand insight into the complex and ongoing struggle for charities to reconcile private-sector values and philanthropic services. As President he wanted income to pursue charitable works such as the provision of accommodation to people under-supported or not supported by local authority rates. Yet he believed that SMV's priority was to increase capital growth which would limit the amount of income available. 'St Monica's would much rather have a lot more income so they can do a lot more charitable work. The endowment would rather have no income and all capital growth so they would look even better.'[159] The minute books record the tension between capital growth and income. In 2007:

> A question was raised about the Council's aspiration to establish reserves of £15m. There was a concern that this would impact upon the ability of the endowment trustee to follow a long-term capital growth plan. It was agreed that the Council would review this aspect of their plan.[160]

The conflict between the goal of endowment trustee and care provider was clear. However, ultimately, as the Clerk, Drewett, attested, 'the concept of an endowment is that it was given for the benefit of current and future beneficiaries. So you can't spend your endowment. You have to keep the endowment fund.'[161] These testimonies indicated that separate organisational goals over philanthropic and private-sector values – even when one organisation was the legally dominant partner – resulted in tension over the outlook of a philanthropic organisation. From one perspective, SMV was wholly finance driven and prioritised capital growth over increasing funding to be used charitably within St Monica's retirement villages. How did other interviewees perceive and evaluate the conflict a social entrepreneurial organisation faced between growing the capital fund and acting in a charitable capacity?

Responses focused on St Monica's establishment of a new funding model upon its first expansion to Westbury Fields in 2004, one that was used throughout its three subsequent developments. Bernays explained that the funding model did not rely on capital endowment.

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[158] The Charity Commission, *St Monica Trust Annual Report 2016,* p. 10.
[159] Charles Griffiths Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 8 June 2017.
[160] MH, BoP 47, *Standing Committee*, 28 September 2007, p. 34.
[161] Robert Drewett Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 23 June 2017.

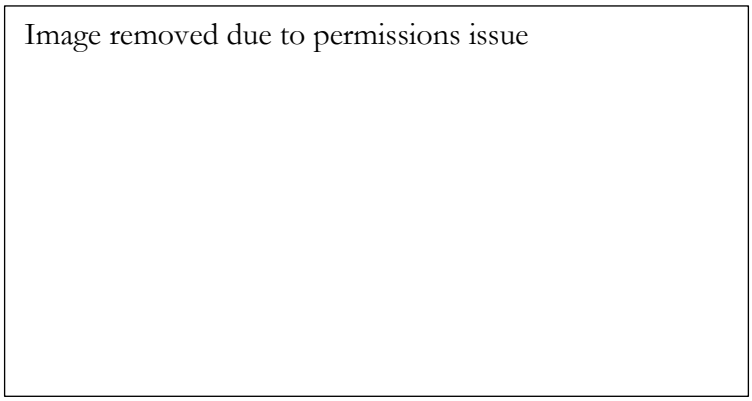
Rather, the Trust borrowed money to build new sites, then repaid it through the sale of lifetime leases on the homes. He described this as a 'very good business model' but added that 'the Council felt that was not right, that was not the charity's job to become a major developer.'[162] Similarly, Drewett also commented on the Trust's concern that St Monica was transforming into 'a profit-focused organisation. Rather than a charity.' He articulated the Trust's anxiety about the direction it was going in, particularly after the opening of the luxury Chocolate Quarter development in Keynsham outside of Bristol in 2017: 'The risk is we're so keen on competing or feeling we need to compete with private nursing, private sheltered care providers, are we going too far the other way?'[163] The rapid and expansive 'property development' that led to the establishment of four care home sites, financed from loans rather than through the substantial endowment, painted St Monica as an organisation veering towards private-sector principles, rather than prioritising philanthropic work. Although SMV was and remains in charge of the endowment, St Monica (albeit led by an SMV nominated President) has ultimate control over how funds are spent, and indeed, who was in charge of the endowment.

The choices St Monica made regarding its most recent development at the former Cadbury's Chocolate Factory (see Figure 5.10) underline – through a local context – the pressures and temptations facing charitable British care home providers operating in the twenty-first century quasi-market. Nursing care facilities were available to government-funded residents, through its 90-bed assisted-living care home although this kind of provision was not evident from the website.[164] Instead, marketing focused on The Chocolate Quarter's 136 high-end apartments designed for independent living.[165] The website described the development's three large buildings as 'stylish', 'grand' and 'elegant' with amenities including award-winning chefs, a golf course, jacuzzi and concierge service.[166] Such evocations of genteel leisure are clearly aimed at the affluent self-funder rather than someone on a local authority budget. Although it financially supported around one third of its residents, St Monica faced the challenge of balancing charitable care for government-funded residents with appealing to wealthy retired people looking to spend their later years in comfort. It aimed to operate efficiently and offer high-quality care for the public benefit, as well as to attract self-funding residents to generate further income in order to safeguard the

[162] Robert Bernays Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon 30 May 2017.
[163] Robert Drewett Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 23 June 2017.
[164] Robert Drewett Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 23 June 2017.
[165] St Monica Trust, 'Our Expertise', (2018) <https://www.stmonicatrust.org.uk/our-expertise/news/2016/welcome-to-keynshams-chocolate-quarter [accessed 3 August 2017]; St Monica Trust, 'Retirement Homes for Sale', (2017) < http://www.stmonicatrust.org.uk/where-we-do-it/retirement-homes-sale>[accessed 3 August 2017]; Robert Drewett Interview, recorded by Theresa McKeon, 23 June 2017.
[166] St Monica Trust, 'The Chocolate Quarter', (2017) < http://thechocolatequarter.org.uk/live-in-a-landmark/> [accessed 3 August 2017].

endowment for viable long-term investments that could benefit elderly people in future decades.[167] SMV and its private-sector values influenced St Monica's work through its management of the endowment fund. Indeed, St Monica, led in part by SMV members, was drawn to the financial rewards gleaned from private-sector provision of residential care of the elderly; a situation that resulted in ongoing tension within a social entrepreneurial organisation divided between private-sector practice and philanthropic purpose.

Figure 5.10 The Chocolate Quarter



Conclusion

Over a period of nearly forty years, from 1979-2017, cross-party central government consensus on welfare state retrenchment policies shaped the nature of the provision of residential care for the elderly in England. A local level analysis of the philanthropic provider SMV and its involvement in Bristol care homes serves as a valuable case study on the effects of national policymaking in specific circumstances. This case study methodology contributes not only to the history of public services and charities but also demonstrates the value of using oral and institutional history to understand the role of the state and wider policymaking in Bristol and across England. A historical examination of SMV's work contextualises the professionalisation and management techniques of philanthropic providers towards their care homes in a local setting, while exposing the friction that developed between philanthropic and private-sector values in the day-to-day provision of care in homes operating through the quasi-market – a practice that within SMV led to a retreat from the direct provision of care, like the state before it. Thus, this chapter underlines the value of my historical methodology in examining public services beyond education, broadening the scope to residential care of the elderly.

[167] Charity Commission for England and Wales, 'What Makes a Charity?', (2013) < https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/what-makes-a-charity-cc4/what-makes-a-charity-cc4#part-4> [accessed 10 January 2019]

Professionalisation and managerialism of private and philanthropic care home providers was a result of the Conservative government's policymaking from 1979-1991. It initially fuelled the growth of private and philanthropic-sector care-homes by allocating social security payments to low-income elderly persons to cover the costs of their care in private and voluntary homes. New buildings and in some cases entire sites were developed to compete for new demand from an ageing society and an increase in the number of people that were eligible to receive social security payments. Competition and pressure from the quasi-market to modernise and professionalise resulted in conflict between philanthropic and private-sector values in SMV's involvement with residential care of the elderly in Bristol. Starting in the 1980s, at the time of the implementation of welfare state retrenchment policies and amongst increasing demand for high-quality philanthropic services, SMV began to re-think its approach to its almshouses. In a process of modernisation Colston's Almshouse was renovated, ensuring that it was fit to continue its centuries-long task of providing sheltered accommodation to Bristol's elderly and infirm. Professionalism occurred as after 2000 SMV became more involved in the Cote Charity and the St Monica Trust. Over the last thirty years of the twentieth century the trustees of Cote had provided casual, rather than professional oversight, with management duties contracted out to another local provider. In the early twenty-first century SMV transitioned into a social entrepreneurial organisation. Specifically, in 2000 SMV became manager of the Cote Charity and quickly oversaw the demolition of outdated housing and used its members' expertise to aid in the erection of new, purpose-built accommodation.

However, following in the path of the state before it, SMV retreated from the direct provision of services as it professionalised Cote and the almshouses, putting new management structures in place. Specifically, SMV found St Nicholas with Burton's and Merchants' Almshouses to be unsuitable by modern standards that expected more space and private bathrooms. The cost of renovating these small and outdated buildings was prohibitively expensive. SMV considered options for the future, including integrating private provision into the almshouses but ultimately it sold the buildings, reducing its charitable responsibilities and the capacity of philanthropic accommodation for the elderly in Bristol.

Locating national policies in a local context revealed SMV's approach to residential care for the elderly as well as highlighting the friction that developed between charitable purpose and business practices across England's care-home sector. Therefore, this chapter contributes to the history of the role of the state and policymaking in addition to the history of charities and public services in England between 1975 and 2017. Following the 1990 NHS and Community Care Act the government ended social security payments for residential care and directed local authorities

to identify, though not provide, places for residents in private and voluntary-sector homes. The use of public funds to purchase private services meant local authorities and charitable organisations were operating through a quasi-market in which the private sector was increasingly dominant. Philanthropic providers of residential care of the elderly such as SMV were vulnerable to the pressures of the quasi-market. They needed to run efficiently and meet economies of the scale, whilst competing against private-sector homes.

My case study examination of Cote revealed the way in which national trends impacted local care-home providers in practice. The struggle between maintaining a viable business and acting in a philanthropic capacity was suggested in national statistics, but my methodology of using institutional and oral history to investigate a local provider underlined the challenges modern philanthropic organisations face in their provision of public services. Katherine House and the dementia ward, Griffith's House (opened in 2008 and 2016, respectively) were predominately available for self-funding residents. Four out of forty, or just ten per cent of the places in Katherine House were reserved for local authority residents. None in Griffiths house were. As a small provider needing to meet economies of scale and balance expenditure Cote therefore faced a conflict between acting philanthropically and preserving most of its rooms for private-sector, fee-paying residents.

The conflict between SMV's philanthropic purpose and its private-sector outlook was also closely examined through its relationship with St Monica. Although SMV used private-sector management skills to raise charitable funds for St Monica, its contribution was not philanthrocapitalist in nature: SMV received renumeration for its role as endowment trustee. Furthermore, some SMV members, with their backgrounds in private-sector business and finance, approached the endowment as a business endeavour. They wanted to accrue capital for the endowment fund, which is valued in the hundreds of millions of pounds. This course of action meant that St Monica then procured some of its income from the sale of private flats, operating like a business. Tension developed between St Monica and SMV over providing more income versus growing the endowment and marketing itself as a high-end care home provider, while offering one third of its assisted living places to local authority-funded residents. This debate over St Monica's role as a philanthropic provider or large-scale care home developer began with the its first expansion in 2004 and was ongoing in 2017.

All three of SMV's endeavours in residential care for the elderly were characterised by professionalisation and modernisation leading to friction between philanthropic and private-sector values from 1979 to 2017. Modernisation of care home facilities led to rising costs for providers but potentially rich rewards as they could market their offerings to affluent self-funders. Although

the purpose of philanthropic organisations was to provide care for those otherwise unable to afford it this intention competed with the business instinct of social entrepreneurial organisations like SMV to maintain financially viable homes over the long-term, which included a retreat from almshouse provision. Local-level analysis contributes to our historical understanding and knowledge of policymaking: contemporary, oral and institutional historical methodology interrogated central government's elderly care policymaking from 1979 to 2017 in practice, adding to the literature available on charities and public services over the past forty years.

Conclusion

This thesis sits at the intersection of the interconnected histories of philanthropy and welfare (public) services, as well as examining the changing role of the state and its policymaking. It puts the local at the centre of such a history, revealing the outcomes of national policy 'on the ground' during an era of welfare state retrenchment. Local organisations are fundamental in understanding this era of change, as they sought to influence significantly the provision of welfare services in their specific communities and contexts. My investigation into the philanthropic Society of Merchant Venturers' (SMV) recent past and its engagement with the delivery of educational and care home services in Bristol draws together these multiple strands of analysis in a new methodological model that uses local case studies to understand such policy on the ground, widening the scope beyond other historians' macro-level investigations. Local and civic history has something of a poor reputation amongst some academic historians, considered by them to be amateur or too specific – however, my research calls for such case studies to be taken more seriously as policy never operates on the national plane alone. In this conclusion I first discuss my analysis and its basis in contemporary British history, reflecting too on the potential value of using oral and institutional history in the examination of the country's recent past. These methods, I argue, reveal the role of local providers in the wider voluntary sector in contributing steadily more to public services from 1975 to 2017. Particular emphasis is placed on the period between 2000-2017 when SMV grew increasingly involved in social entrepreneurialism, a key concept of this thesis. As a whole, such a model demonstrates the value of using a micro-historical case study analysis of one philanthropic provider and the outcomes of its provision of public services in practice, to understand how change took place on a local scale, not simply a national one.

This model is significant for both historians and policymakers alike. For throughout this conclusion I examine the value of local case study analysis to uncover the working of national policymaking in practice. Alongside that is a discussion on the methods I used to gather and analyse evidence, namely institutional and oral history. Using these methods in the context of a local, non-statutory welfare provider uncovers the mechanism, (in the form of ethos, character and goals) behind a school or care home's outcomes that are not available through a broad statistical or nationwide analysis. Using my model and highlighting the significance of institutional and oral history methodology I explain the performance of SMV and its privately-managed public services over the past forty years. By using this methodology of combining oral and institutional history approaches in conjunction with contemporary sources, I determined a philanthropic organisation's motives, intentions and influence on state-maintained services and the challenges it faced. Ultimately, this discovery led to greater understanding of the way in which non-statutory

providers impact the delivery of public services in practice. Finally, I contend that this model, developed in relation to SMV and Bristol, is vital to broadening our historical understanding of the intersection between the state and private sector in varying aspects of welfare services in modern Britain – including secondary education and residential care for the elderly, particularly over the past two decades.

The specific case study at the centre of this research, the elite philanthropic organisation, SMV, also means that this thesis can speak to the history of charitable organisations and their role in civil society. Specifically, I considered SMV's influence on both residential care of the elderly and secondary education in Bristol, making this study of wider relevance to historians and policymakers interested in the delivery of a broad range of public services from 1975 to 2017. My focus on one charitable organisation's involvement in (and eventual retreat from), and private-sector approach to the delivery of local services is valuable not only for analysing government policy and the role of the state, but it goes further, examining the impact of national policymaking on the ground as well as the practical and institutional roadblocks such policy could hit during their implementation.

Of further significance, my research also serves as a model for bringing together oral and institutional history methodology to analyse localised context of national trends, as well as an invitation for historians and policymakers to conduct future research into the voluntary provision of welfare services, using this model. As seen from SMV's history in Bristol, much of the history of welfare state provision was contingent on local needs, problems and personalities; the implementation of changes also relied on pre-existing local organisations, with their own outlooks and historical baggage. Over the last few decades the boundary between the public and private sectors has become increasingly blurred and this research model has the potential to expose important insight into the role of philanthropic providers of public services in an era of welfare state retrenchment. It calls for historians to look more closely at charities' professional development and use of managerial practices in conjunction with local circumstances and the effect national welfare state retrenchment policies have had on the ground in England.

But how can the methodology of bringing together strands of oral and institutional historical analysis I developed in relation to SMV and Bristol translate to other locally-focused historical investigations? I propose that by undertaking a process of institutional history, centred around oral history interviews with members of the organisation, as well as the use of contemporary historical resources such as newspapers and legislation, the researcher can widen their understanding of the philanthropic provider of welfare services, its ethos and the reasons behind its decision making which ultimately affected the users of services in local contexts. First,

however, one must consider the broader implications of conducting institutional research in the pursuit of a local-level analysis which my study raises and which has implications for other contemporary historians.

Challenges and possibilities of institutionally-sponsored history

For this project, my research was sponsored by an institution interested in learning more about its recent history, the positive aspects alongside the negative. Without this kind of support it may be more difficult to locate resources and receive access to archival materials. However, areas of significance and challenge arise through institutionally-sponsored research, as discussed by Carl Ryant. He argued that researchers must be up front about the extent to which they were influenced by their sponsors.[1] In practice, researchers came across further challenges as Grace Huxford and Richard Wallace discovered in relation to their research of and within a university. They found some contacts reluctant to interview, worried that their perhaps less than positive experiences would be discarded in favour of celebratory accounts.[2] Despite these genuine concerns, such projects offer researchers access to otherwise restricted, but highly relevant information that in this case, contributes to our knowledge on the blurred boundary between philanthropic and private sectors on one hand and public services and policymaking on the other.

I therefore argue that this institutionally-sponsored but independently-researched historical projects that examined private archives and involved interviews with members of SMV is of value to policymakers and historians interested in welfare services, the philanthropic sector and the impact of national policymaking in practice. As per Ryant's suggestion I stated in the Introduction and reaffirm here, that I conducted my research without pressure or interference from SMV. I encountered similar concerns to Huxford and Wallace of interviewees who were uncertain about participating. Offering the option of anonymity and an embargo on the interviews for thirty years helped to make interviewees feel more comfortable sharing their experiences. I also spoke to people outside of the Society, widening my understanding of the organisation's work and influence. Though over time, after reading many of SMV's archival materials and speaking to numerous people, it became easy to understand and empathise with SMV's perspective, I strived to maintain an objective view on its approach to implementing educational policy and care home ethos. Thus, I believe previously unheard voices, preserved in private archives and through interviews offer invaluable insight into case studies, not just for SMV, but have potential for

[1] Carl Ryant, 'Oral History and Business History', *The Journal of American History*,75:2 (1988), pp. 562-563.
[2] Grace Huxford and Richard Wallace, 'Voice of the University: Anniversary Culture and Oral Histories of Higher Education', *Oral History*, 45:1 (2017), pp. 84-85.

uncovering motives and reasons for outcomes in other voluntary organisations and in companies.[3] However, the researcher must take care to examine a sponsoring organisation through a neutral and objective lens. Understanding and working to achieve this balance, access to institutional archives can widen historical information currently available though I contend that oral history is key to this process of discovering new and insightful information on a particular organisation.

Oral history in contemporary British history

This case study has highlighted the value of using oral history interviews as part of a wider analysis of an institution's history. Oral history offers valuable insights to both the historian and the policymaker. Throughout my research it played a key role in the examination of SMV's approach towards the provision of secondary education and residential care of the elderly in Bristol and contributed to our knowledge on the changing nature of philanthropy in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. My thesis has brought together historians of contemporary Britain who used oral history interviews, such as Anthony Seldon, Peter Hennessey and Charles Wilson together with a more reflective oral history theory. For those three historians advocated for using traditional archival sources in conjunction with oral history to provide a fuller picture of the past, an approach I adopted.[4] I used written sources to corroborate timelines and courses of events against interviewee testimony, though I embraced Alessandro Portelli's method of evaluating oral history for what it tells us about interviewees, what they thought they did and how their feelings about it might have changed over time.[5] Interviews with members of one local, influential provider of public services in Bristol revealed a range of emotions amongst members of an organisation that rapidly transformed between 2000 and 2017. In this time period SMV shifted from an outmoded gentlemen's club into a major philanthropic force in Bristol. Feelings of tension, pride and uncertainty surfaced alongside descriptions of a newly professionalised organisation during interviews, filling in gaps missing from written sources on SMV's social entrepreneurial involvement in public services. A thorough examination of written records and interviews with stakeholders would translate to similar research into other providers in further cities and regions across the country.

I further embraced Lynn Abrams's supposition that an oral history interview is not just

[3] Giovanni Levi, 'On Microhistory', in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* ed. by Peter Burke (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), pp. 97-98.
[4] *Contemporary British History 1931-1961: Politics and the Limits of Policy* ed by Anthony Gorst, Lewis Johnman and W. Scott Lucas, (London: Pinter Publishers, 1991); *The Contemporary History Handbook* ed by Brian Brivati, Julia Buxton and Anthony Seldon, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996); Charles Wilson, *The History of Unilever* (London: Cassell, 1970), p. x.
[5] Alessandro Portelli, 'What Makes Oral History Different', in *The Oral History Reader*, 3rd edn. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), p. 52.

related to the content recorded but also involves the process of interaction between interviewee and interviewer.[6] My experience demonstrates to both policymakers and historians that institutionally sponsored researchers can serve a valuable function in the examination of an organisation's recent past. I was an outsider to the Society, which I believe allowed interviewees to speak rather more freely than they may have done with other members or elites. They did not make assumptions about what I knew so I gained a great deal of background information as an American and young woman without a revealing class accent. The majority of the interviews were held in Merchants' Hall but that did not mean I was entering unknown territory and put at a disadvantage; I conducted hours of research in the Hall and felt comfortable on the premises. The outcome of every interview was unique yet altogether the testimony indicated several key strands of thinking, feeling and action amongst SMV members towards its philanthropic engagement and shifting identity over the past forty years with an emphasis on its involvement in the delivery of services after 2000.

An oral history approach, I argue, is one of the key methods historians of contemporary Britain can use to understand the impact of national welfare state retrenchment policymaking on the ground in local contexts, revealing insight into both the nature of public services and the ethos of an influential voluntary organisation. Such analysis contributes to the historical literature on charity and public services as well as an analysis of the role of the state and policymaking more widely. I argue that thorough examination of the charitable provider of public services, (in this case SMV) its motivation, ethos and role in wider society is vital to understanding its influence on service delivery. Specifically, using oral history methods I demonstrate in Chapter Two that SMV's shifting identity from elite men's social club to active social entrepreneurial organisation reflected changing social and cultural norms – but that this change could not be explained through institutional archival records or social transformation alone. Though Standing Committee minute books and using Michael Roper's description of the declining significance of the 'organisation man' demographic went some way to elucidate members' preference for businessmen-only social events, oral history interviews deepened that awareness and understanding of the organisation's cultural norms.[7] Notably, as Perks suggested, interviewing the elites of a private and high-status group revealed much more than documents about its character and influence.[8] One can get a sense of this friction between moving forward and remaining rooted in tradition from looking at the

[6] Lynn Abrams, *Oral History* (London: Routledge, 2009) p. 2.

[7] Michael Roper, *Masculinity and the British Organization Man since 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 5, 111-112, 114-116, 120, 128.

[8] Rob Perks, "'Corporations are People too!": Business and Corporate Oral History in Britain', *Oral History* 38:1 (2010) pp. 49-50.

poll taken in relation the dress code at banquets in 1986, for example.[9] But from interviewees I gleaned that there was real opposition from some members to updating SMV's *raison d'etre,* as well as admitting professionals (in the 1990s) and women members (after 2003) to the Society. Speaking with current and former members and employees of SMV brought to the forefront the ongoing struggle to reconcile tradition, private-sector values and philanthropic purpose in a political landscape that saw successive central governments shift responsibility for the delivery of services away from local authorities and towards professionalised voluntary and private-sector groups.

Private-sector values and public services

Oral history served as a method to gather and examine evidence of SMV's private-sector perspective and its influence on its role as a provider of secondary education and residential care for the elderly in Bristol; for instance, from speaking with Headteachers and SMV academy governors I observed that the effect of the state's withdrawal from the provision of public services from the early 1980s to early 1990s, led in turn, to the rise of professionalism and managerialism present in voluntary-sector provision of state services from the 1980s onwards. As it increased its philanthropic engagement in the 2000s, becoming a large provider of local services, SMV began to mimick the state's withdrawal from direct oversight and with it accountability.[10]

As discussed in Chapter Two, by 2017 SMV had expanded its academy sponsorship commitments to the extent that it did not have enough interested or able members to serve as governors at its six state-maintained primary and two secondary schools. It started to rely on trusted 'friends' of the Merchants to carry out governors' duties in line with SMV ethos and values. In this way it retreated from the direct provision of education, leaving governing decisions in the hands of non-members.

In addition, I found that SMV was able to adopt a degree of managerialism over and distance from Merchants' Academy after its first few years in operations. Hands-off oversight, derived from government policymaking, permitted Merchants undertaking a form of managerialism to cede accountability for examination results to Headteachers and teachers. Placing the fault for failure further down the chain of command recalled the 1979-1991 Conservative government's approach to educational policymaking which sought to curtail the influence of

[9] Merchants' Hall, Unknown Respondent, *Poll on Dress at the Annual Banquet*, 25 April 1986.
[10] New Labour designed the Academy policy to bring individualised attention to schools in need, curtailing local authority influence on schools through the 2000 Academies Act and the policy's subsequent expansion in 2002 and 2010; Department for Education, *Academies Act, 2002,* Department for Education, *Academies Act, 2010.*
The terms professionalism and managerialism refer to the process of philanthropic organisations taking on characteristics of the private sector, (growing more competitive and efficient) as they became involved in the delivery of services.

teachers and local education authorities.[11]

However, nearly twenty years on, my analysis indicated that SMV governors mirrored that Conservative government's stance: at Merchants' Academy, Headteachers and classroom teachers portrayed by some interviewees as ineffectual and disengaged were held responsible for low exam scores at GCSE and poor pupil behaviour after 2008. A few interviewees went further, perhaps attributing blame to SMV governors and Chairs of Governors that were out of their depth and not held to account by the Standing Committee. Eventually, SMV began to rely more on an outside, part-time educational adviser to guide its approach to its schools. Instructors and Headteachers were still not the key resources consulted. Interviews further revealed that SMV distanced itself from the day-to-day management of its academies, expecting Headteachers and Chairs of Governors to handle school matters. Consequently, if something went wrong, those were the parties held responsible. Ultimately, the Society's retreat from strong oversight and accountability resulted in a cycle of failure at Merchants' Academy.

The conflict between public and private-sector values and the retreat of provision was also evident in SMV's work in residential care of the elderly. Retreat from direct involvement and accountability was mirrored between statutory care homes in the 1980s and 1990s and SMV as a provider of residential care for the elderly in the 2010s. Professionalisation and managerialism also came to the care-home sector in the 1980s, as part of the Conservative government's attempt to transfer the provision of public services to private and philanthropic organisations. Chapter Five explained central government's attempt to increase private and voluntary-sector care home provision after 1983 with the rerouting of social care funds to lower-income elderly people for use in retirement homes. Over the course of this decade charities became increasingly professionalised in order to try and compete for funding and clients across Britain's public services. The 1990 NHS and Community Care Act went further, invigorating the voluntary sector by re-imagining the function of local authorities as one of facilitator, rather than provider, of care home services.

The conflict between private and public-sector purpose is apparent through an analysis of SMV and its engagement in care home charities. For example, professionalism and managerialism were intrinsic to SMV's approach to its almshouses and the Cote charity over the past twenty or so years. As discussed in Chapters One and Two, charitable organisations became more

[11] In the 1980s the central government placed blame for poor performance with LEAs and educationalists allowing the state to implement a programme on improvement. Following a political consensus under New Labour, this programme, designated as the academy initiative in 2000 sought to devolve power to individual charitable and private-sector sponsors. DES, *Education Reform Act,* 1988, p. 2; Stephen Ward and Christine Eden, *Key Issues in Education Policy* (London: SAGE, 2009), pp. 20-21; Kendall and Holloway, 'Educational Policy', p. 158; Ian Kendall and David Holloway, 'Educational Policy' in *Public Policy Under Blair* ed. by Stephen P. Savage and Rob Atkinson (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p. 157; Rodney Lowe, *The Welfare State in Britain since 1945* 3rd edn. (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 17-19.

professional in the 1980s and 1990s in bids to win government funding and attract clients.[12] Some philanthropic organisations adopted business practices, acting competitively and seeking to allocate their resources effectively. I used oral history methodology and contemporary sources advocated by Seldon and Perks to bring out the way in which 1980s Conservative government policymaking led to an increase in private retirement and nursing homes.[13] The often inadequate amount of local authority funding allocated to each resident of a voluntary home resulted in the sector facing challenges in providing care. So pervasive were these challenges that smaller charitable care-home providers like SMV engaged in private-sector practices of reaching economies of scale and marketing themselves to affluent self-funders which placed philanthropic purpose in jeopardy.

Between 1975 and 2017 SMV professionalised its elderly care services by setting up a dedicated almshouse committee, taking responsibility for the management of the Cote Charity (in 2000) and improving the physical environment of its outdated buildings for the twenty-first century. However, since 2013 SMV has retreated from direct management of services in Bristol. SMV had three almshouses in 1975, the start of the period under review. In 2017 it had one. Rising living standards, increased SMV member interest in engaging with elderly care and the government-driven expansion of philanthropic and private care homes led SMV to take a more professional and active role in the delivery of services. Paradoxically, SMV's drive towards improvement led to the closure of two almshouses which were classified as unfit to house elderly persons in need of care.

In 2013, after struggling to replace the care home places it had lost through the closure of two almshouses, SMV retreated from almshouse provision, much like the government had directed local authorities to do from their facilities in 1990. Though one almshouse remained, the Society did not have plans to make new spaces available despite a charitable commitment to do so. SMV faced the challenge of building a cost-effective site that could be run on long-term business considerations, as well as providing charitable care for elderly people in need. This challenge translated not only to the Cote House charity but to other providers caring for around

[12] Conservative Party, *1987 Conservative Party General Election Manifesto*; Rodney Lowe, 'Recent Findings of Research in Economic and Social History', *Refresh* 18:1 (1994), pp. 2-3; Frank Prochaska, *Philanthropy and the Hospitals of London: The King's Fund, 1897-1990* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 226; N. J. Crowson, 'Introduction: the voluntary sector in 1980s Britain', *Contemporary British History*, 25:1 (2011), p. 496.
[13] Norman Johnson, 'The Personal Social Services', in Stephen P. Savage and Rob Atkinson (eds.) *Public Policy Under Blair* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001), p. 177; Robert G. Ford and Geoffrey C. Smith, 'Geographical and Structural Change in Nursing Care Provision for Older People in England, 1993 -2001', *Geoforum* 39:1 (2008), p. 484.

fifty people and fewer, across England.[14] A historical evaluation of national policymaking showed that smaller charitable providers were under strain to maintain long-term viability whilst meeting charitable demand from people who did not receive adequate statutory funding to meet the costs of their care.[15]

Ultimately, SMV, like the state, distanced itself from the charitable aspect of delivery of services to elderly people in favour of concentrating on more financially secure private-sector provision. Local-level analysis of SMV demonstrated that these competing circumstances resulted in friction between public and private-sector values with 10 per cent of Cote's rooms available for local authority residents. SMV must reconcile the need to care for underfunded residents versus its inclination to ensure a future as a care home provider, even one that wasn't wholly charitable in its outlook. Nonetheless, despite having responsibility for around only twenty charitable spaces in Bristol care homes, SMV's role as endowment trustee for the St Monica Trust allowed it to promote itself as a key player in Bristol's charitable care home provision.

Interviews were instrumental in revealing the long-drawn out conflict between SMV and another local care home charity responsible for the delivery of state-maintained welfare services and the struggle between private and public-sector values. St Monica, having expanded under a business model which lets out flats to private renters (around 60 per cent of its intake) alongside local authority residents (30 per cent), has become a professional care home property manager in the process. Operating across a financially-strained quasi-market brought about through the state's policy of diminishing local authority services and reducing funding for spaces in care homes, SMV's experience as a care home provider has implications for the voluntary sector and public services as a whole.

Managerialism, professionalism and the dual retreat of the state and philanthropic providers from direct provision of public services particularly stood out as stark, perhaps previously unknown, outcomes in both education and residential care of the elderly over the period under review. Thus, such histories and can serve as a model to policymakers. Speaking to an organisation's elite and understanding its structure of leadership resulted in clarity, bringing an understanding of the context a charitable organisation operated in well beyond archival documents. This insight was only available through using my model, which incorporated two

[14] CQC, *The State of Adult Social Care Services 2014 to 2017*, p. 20; Chris Holden, 'British Government Policy and the Concentration of Ownership in Long-term Care Provision', *Ageing and Society*, 22:1 (2002) pp. 80, 83, 88; Mark Drakeford, 'Ownership, Regulation and the Public Interest: The Case of Residential Care for Older People', *Critical Social Policy*, 26:4 (2006), pp. 934, 936; Peter Scourfield, 'Are There Reasons to be Worried About the "Caretelization" of Residential Care?', *Critical Social Policy* 27:2 (2007), pp. 162, 163; Competition and Markets Authority, *Care Homes Market Study*: *Summary of Final Report* (2017).
[15] Polly Simpson, *Public Spending on Adult Social Care in England* (Institute for Fiscal Studies, 2017), pp. 4, 6.

separate strands of analysis: the role of the state and its policymaking, and an in-depth look at a charitable organisation and its collective influence on the delivery of public services.

The value of evaluating the national in a local context

The local level case study approach I propose is significant not just for analysis of SMV but for the historical and policy-minded communities to which this thesis speaks. Working on a local scale reveals insight that would not become clear from a national analysis of the academy policy. As Giovanni Levi said of micro-historical research 'it is the belief that microscopic observation will reveal factors previously unobserved'[16] Micro or local level history also provides greater insight into ordinary people and their role in shaping society, exploring 'the values, beliefs and feelings' of people in the past, giving them 'a degree of agency, whether in the circumstances of the everyday or the extraordinary.'[17] In the case of SMV this micro-history or case study uncovered the specific players and reasons behind SMV's decision-making and its outcomes at Merchants' Academy, Colston's Girls' School and its care home and at St Monica, leading to insight and conclusions that would have been otherwise unavailable, as large-scale analysis does not differentiate amongst sponsors or highlight varying ethos, personalities and community needs. For example, in Chapter Three I discussed Jenny Slater's and Sally Tomlinson's macro-level and inconclusive analysis to academies; both of these researchers could perhaps achieve more concrete results by using an in-depth case study analysis rather than broad generalisations.[18]

Undertaking research into different academy sponsors and their schools could help locate need for improvement and areas where these providers need to link in more with appropriate educational specialists. Using a case study analysis could help to identify space for intervention before Ofsted potentially discovers academic and/or behavioural issues that urgently need to be addressed and the school potentially transferred to a new sponsor. Likewise, lest the process of failure repeat itself under another provider, policymakers must fully understand the sponsor, its ethos and approach before they entrust it to run a public educational service on the government's behalf. In summation, policymakers have the potential to uncover patterns of weakness and strengths in private and philanthropically-sponsored academies to stage interventions or recreate certain practices, though these could only be achieved through careful scrutiny of individual academy sponsors.

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[16] Giovanni Levi, 'On Microhistory', in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* ed. by Peter Burke (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), pp. 97-98.
[17] John Brewer, 'Microhistory and the Histories of Everyday Life', *Cultural and Social History* 7:1, p. 90.
[18] Jenny Slater, 'Special Needs Pupils Barred', in *Times Educational Supplement*, 10 December 2004; Sally Tomlinson, *Education in a Post-Welfare Society* (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2005), p. 222.

Small-scale analysis also provides insight into Britain's care home sector following the expansion of the private and voluntary sector in the 1980s and diminution of local authority provision after 1990. Similar to the examination of education, my investigation of residential care for the elderly contributes to literature on the state's role as care home provider, the policymaking that limited its engagement, the experience of charitable organisations and their influence on public services, particularly after 2000. Chapter Five highlights the way in which SMV and St Monica faced challenges which occur on a national level whilst bringing to the fore a sense that these charities, empowered through national policymaking to offer choice and high-quality care to every person, in practice replicated the actions of government before it. Although my case study approach focused on Bristol, this finding on the tension between charitable purpose and private-sector practices could extend across many different local authorities in England, affecting numerous elderly people in need of care home provision. Apart from revealing the challenges small to medium philanthropic care home providers face against large commercial competitors in an era of welfare state retrenchment, this case study of SMV's almshouses, Cote and St Monica adds to the history of voluntary organisations and public services, (or their diminishment) in contemporary Britain. Further examination of other smaller, local providers could perhaps identify patterns or trends amongst philanthropic care home providers operating through a competitive quasi-market.[19]

Therefore, although residential care for the elderly is a vastly different public service than education, my research model and methodological intervention brings the two distinct case studies together and highlights similarities and differences in their histories, connected by the common involvement of SMV. Indeed, it was the same organisations, politics and outlook that worked within these separate spheres. Understanding the outcomes of national policy on the ground emphasises challenges providers face and can be indicative of trends in the sector, be it education or residential care for the elderly. In other words, researching the local context generates precise and specific knowledge about the outcomes of national policymaking and sharpens researchers' understanding of practical outcomes of public services. Using this method also contributes to our knowledge of the contribution of voluntary organisations as well as their ethos, character and the challenges they face in regards to the provision of welfare services on behalf of the state in contemporary Britain. It further helps us to understand why problems arise in privately-managed public services, and how to potentially fix them. Without this model we rely on statistical summaries to compare different modes of operation. Understanding specific driving forces is always useful as this understanding can, in the cases of high-quality services help inform

[19] Levi, 'On Microhistory', 97-98.

widespread change through effective approaches to provision. On the other hand, contextual case study analysis can also lead to the development of programmes of intervention where improvement is needed.

Bringing it all together

As discussed, I brought oral and institutional history and local level analysis of SMV together to analyse the effects of national policymaking on the ground, particularly the tension between public and private-sector values. My methodological approach further underlined the value of locating national policymaking on a local level to examine the role of the state and the charitable sector in contemporary Britain. My works stretches across different literatures and I suggest that other historians and policymakers could gain useful insight from following this approach. Working at a local scale reveals previously unknown case studies that highlight the state's role and policymaking in public services, as well as the changing nature and influence of the charitable sector over the past forty years. Bringing together different areas of analysis and historical literature has applicability and significance to the examination of other philanthropic providers of public services not only in Bristol but across the country. For historians, the model I propose, particularly the use of oral history, has the potential to uncover trends arising out of the transfer of the delivery of public services from the state to the voluntary sector. For example, I used this model to analyse SMV's work in two very different arenas of secondary education and residential care for the elderly, highlighting similar trends that developed out of SMV's professionalisation of services, which introduced private-sector values into public services and led to a subsequent managerial style of oversight in its schools and withdrawal from direct provision in its almshouses. This course mimicked that of the state and showed a trend of retrenchment that pervaded the philanthropic provision that was introduced to replace that of the state. More historical case studies of this kind are needed to evaluate the impact of welfare state retrenchment on a small scale, thus leading to awareness of the reasons behind local outcomes.

Welfare state retrenchment is a much more localised process than has previously been discussed and analysing individual cases can draw out larger historical trends relating to neoliberal policymaking from 1979 onwards. Historically-informed policymaking can offer advantages; using my model, policymakers have the potential to identify areas where the government may need to make an intervention before it is too late. For instance, understanding why a school like Merchants' Academy struggled, before transferring it to another trust which may face similar challenges. In relation to care homes, it is vital that policymakers understand the reasons care homes might prefer self-funding residents and consider local authorities' approach to funding before a crisis occurs.

Taking this approach could allow policymakers to be more involved with the practical challenges providers face on the ground, rather than leaving an overdue appraisal of what went wrong to future historians.

I argue that bringing together contemporary history and policymaking effects what Alix Green refers to as history with a public purpose.[20] Working alongside one another could be beneficial and also allay some of the challenges. For example, difficulty could arise over enlisting the participation of voluntary organisations. They might, like SMV, express concern over enmeshing themselves in political processes or investigations. Here historians have a vital role to play. Organisations like SMV may be more comfortable working with scholars as opposed to politicians or government employees. Therefore, it would be helpful for historians to undertake first-hand research and discuss the implications with policymakers. At the same time, historians would have to be willing to aim their work at a broad, rather than just a scholarly audience. Of course, there is also room for this methodological framework to be refined. More people, including users of services should be spoken to, surveys used to gain further insights into the opinions of many more providers and users. These areas of extension, though key to gaining a full picture of voluntary organisations, their provision of public services, the role of the state and its policy, could be time-consuming and costly, resulting in a need to hire more researchers or pay them for longer period of time. In the short term, time and the need for funding may seem prohibitive but ultimately investing such resources could lead to better insight for researchers across two different, but complementary fields and help make services more user friendly and responsive to needs – as policymakers and historians familiar with the neoliberal mandate from 1979 through 2017 know welfare state retrenchment policies were intended to do.

[20] Alix Green, *History, Policy and Public Purpose: Historians and Historical Thinking in Government* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 6, 45.

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